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**THE**

**REFORMS**



**DRAGANOF**



# MACEDONIA AND THE REFORMS



# MACEDONIA

AND

## THE REFORMS

BY DRAGANOF

PREFACE BY M. VICTOR BÉRARD

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH

WITH MAP

LONDON

1908



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PRINTED BY  
HAZELL, WATSON AND VINEY, LD.,  
LONDON AND AYLESBURY.

F-15

## PREFACE

THIS book is the complete history of Macedonia and of the reforms during the last ten years : on the one hand, the sufferings and heroic struggles of the Macedonian people ; on the other, the desperate efforts of the Sultan to keep under the knife this people which its brothers of Bulgaria, Servia, Roumania, and Greece have civilised by schools, but which they have been unable to deliver by force of arms, less for want of the military power which would checkmate the Turk than for want of a diplomatic understanding uniting all interests and all efforts in the service of civilisation and of liberty.

After ten years of Macedonian suffering, the Governments of Sofia, Belgrade, and Bucharest are ready for this cordial and effective co-operation ; but the Government of Athens still lingers over claims, recriminations, and dreams, which can only lead Hellenism to the pursuit of chimæras, and cost it—as events in Roumania and Bulgaria have too cruelly proved—the sympathy of the other Christian peoples, the benefit of the religious privileges and commercial advantages which the Greeks enjoyed, and largely enjoyed, in the other Orthodox countries.

Europe, which till recently was ignorant of the Macedonians, knows them to-day. But Europe, on this point,

as on the majority of great questions, moral and political, remains divided into two irreconcilable camps : the nations of the West proclaim the equal right of all men to happiness and of all peoples to independence ; the empires of the Centre and of the Levant are still the prey of masters who arrogate to themselves the divine right to exploit mankind. For long the empires held undisputed sway in Macedonian affairs ; if the programme of Muerzsteg was a cheat, it was because, at bottom, it had only one object : to maintain this Imperial tyranny.

The indifference of the West and—it must certainly be acknowledged—religious prejudices and racial rivalries delivered Macedonia and the Danubian States over to this tyranny. It looks as if to-day a great change were coming about.

Cettinje, Belgrade, and Sofia are already brought under the influence of Rome, of Paris, and of London, and no great effort would be needed to win back Bucharest to the side of her Latin brothers. Indeed, since the marriage of Victor Emmanuel II. with a Slav princess, since the reconciliation of Bulgaria with the Tsar, above all since the cordial understanding between the Servian, Bulgarian, and Roumanian Governments, it might seem that the Latino-Slav circuit is already completed. But of what avail are all these visible ties as long as they are thwarted by secret bonds between Vienna and St. Petersburg, as long as Russia treats Servia as Austrian, in order that Austria may treat Bulgaria as Russian ?

Germany adheres to this Austro-Russian policy. Herr von Bülow said in a recent speech : “ Prince Bismarck was accustomed to say, ‘ In Servia, we are Austrians ; in Bulgaria,

we are Russians.'” Herr von Bülow has his reasons, and good ones, for holding to the formula of Bismarck. As long as St. Petersburg puts its interests into the keeping of Austria, so long will Berlin be arbiter in the Levant and master in Turkey ; the Austrian and Balkan highways exist only for the benefit of the German officers, engineers, and financiers going to exploit their client at Constantinople, and it is German railways that have the monopoly of the great approaches to the Mediterranean, the Persian Gulf, and the Red Sea. Russia, the accommodating friend of Austria, and Austria, the servant of Berlin, work for the unhappiness of the Slav communities, the massacre of Ottoman Christians, the wretchedness of Levantine Islam, and the ruin of the Turkish empire, only for the benefit of the King of Prussia.

It might be supposed that things would remain as they are as long as Russia maintains her co-operation with Austria : all the diplomatic threads which the Governments of Belgrade, of Sofia, of Bucharest, or the Western Powers might try to stretch across this German highway would merely be so many cobwebs. Now Russia seems not inclined for many years to alter her Levantine policy. She has other cares ; repudiating adventures outside her own borders, she concentrates her attention on her own private problems.

But, in default of the Russians, there is a government and a people who will soon be no longer able to find in this state of matters either the satisfaction of their interests or the guarantee of their destinies. The Hungarians, who have just changed their policy in respect of the Slavs of their own kingdom, will also change their views in regard to

the Slavs who are their neighbours, and this change will have the happiest consequences for the fate of Macedonia.

\* \* \* \* \*

To tell the truth, it is difficult to understand how it has come so late. During the thirty years which will soon have run since Austria-Hungary became the prey of the Hohenzollern, one must have been blind not to see that all the interests of the Slav, Hungarian, Roumanian, Italian, and even Austrian communities which compose the Dual Monarchy were sacrificed to the demands of Berlin, and that the servility of Vienna not only compromised the dignity of the monarch and the honour of his statesmen, but fettered the progress and even the material life of the peoples—of all the Austro-Hungarian peoples.

Is there any need to review twenty centuries of history, or even to open a map of Europe, in order to show the eternal rôle imposed by nature on the possessors of this Austria-Hungary if they wish to serve their own interests as well as the interests of the world? In the heart of Europe, this basin and the plain of the Danube are fertile enough, rich enough in flocks and forests, to support a very dense population: a primitive humanity might be content with so beautiful a domain, and never wander beyond the mountains on its horizon. But these waters, the Danube and the rivers, highways which come from without and lead without, have always played a part more important than the land itself in the life of this region.

From the east to the west or *vice versa*, as from the south to the north; from the Mediterranean to the Baltic, as from the Atlantic to the Black Sea; from the Russian plain to the Alps, as from the temperate gulfs to the polar shores;

and from the Asiatic tribes to the European peoples, eight or ten world-highways converge here. At their junction, Vienna or Pesth ought to be the central market of Europe if the masters of Austria-Hungary knew how to lay out, or even simply to keep open, the roads made by their rivers and opened through their mountains.

All these roads had, throughout the centuries, their determining influence on the destiny of the country ; each at its hour brought some radical change into the existence and even into the blood of these peoples. One brought Roman civilisation across the Alps ; another led the Germanic conquest along the Danube ; a third lent itself to the Slav or Hungarian invasions across the Carpathians or the mountains of Bohemia and Moravia. But while one after another these highways took up and lost the principal rôle, one of them has always kept its own part—a secondary but an essential one. It is the highway which formerly, in the Greek and Byzantine ages, brought Mediterranean civilisation to Celtic, Dacian, or Hungarian savagery ; it is the highway which should to-day take back European civilisation to Levantine barbarism. It is the highway which, towards Macedonia, descends the Danube, enters, below Belgrade, the defile of the Morava, goes on to the passes and the course of the Vardar, and finally at Salonica reaches the Mediterranean basin.

From the Baltic to the Archipelago, from the northern forests to the Mediterranean orchards, it is the most direct road, the most rapid, the most convenient, the shortest. And from the peoples of the north to the peoples of the south, from the drinkers of beer to the drinkers of wine, from the eaters of black bread and sauerkraut to the eaters

of rice or white bread, from ice and furs to the mulberry, to the olive, to the sun, what continual barter and exchange should not this high road across Europe establish for the profit of all dwellers in its neighbourhood, for the profit, above all, of the masters of the cross-roads !

But Vienna, Raab, Buda, Mohacz, Petervardin, Carlowitz, Belgrade, Passarovitz, Uskub, and twenty other names of battles or treaties remind us at each stage how for four centuries, since the entry of the Turks into Europe, this road has been only a path for armies; where, as in a well-arranged ballet, Mussulmans and Christians have advanced and retired in their turns, and have always vied with each other in massacre and pillage.

During two centuries (sixteenth and seventeenth) the Turks advanced, slaying as they went, as far as Vienna. For another century (the eighteenth) they oscillated between Buda and Belgrade, according to the fortune of war, now burning Buda, now besieged in Belgrade. In the course of the last century they retired finally, falling back behind the Danube, then behind the Save, the Morava, and finally the Vardar. But Vienna did not send its soldiers to follow them in their retreat: the pursuit stopped on the banks of the Save. The usefulness, the sanctity, the inviolability of the Turkish Empire was proclaimed. This dogma was taught to all diplomatists as soon as the first down was on their cheeks.

Nevertheless, the Congress of Berlin forgot to respect the Rubicon ; on the other side of the Save, right in the Balkan peninsula, the Turk was despoiled of four of his victims. Bosnia and Herzegovina were put under the actual dominion of Austria, Servia and Bulgaria under the distant protection

of Europe. To complete the work of Austro-Hungarian protection and of European penetration, to secure the achievement of Balkan concord, it would have been indispensable to undertake the pacification and the reform of Macedonia, the complete opening of the road as far as Salonica, and, by the bond of commerce, the reconciliation of men and interests, the softening of rancour and fanaticism. But Vienna systematically neglected this duty. A Macedonia pillaged and massacred, unproductive for herself and useless to the rest of the world, untenable for the natives and impenetrable to foreigners, seemed the essential condition of Austro-Hungarian prosperity! And for twenty-five years the authorities at Pesth, nearer neighbours though they were of the Macedonian hell, more interested in the security of the road and the development of commerce, allowed themselves to be persuaded that they, above all, had everything to gain by the torture of Macedonia, everything to fear from her liberation and from her prosperity.

Reasons of home politics seemed to be at the bottom of this criminal diplomacy. The dissensions of 1866 and the battles of 1849 had filled Magyar hearts with hatred of the Slavs of Austria-Hungary, whose loyalty to the Habsburgs had delayed for eighteen years the emancipation of the Magyar. Keeping their national idioms, attached to their national churches and their patriotic feelings, claiming for themselves a culture and an autonomy of their own, these Slavs threatened—so said Vienna—to make in the Magyar Transleithania the same division which was dreamed of by their cousins of Moravia and Bohemia in Austrian Cis-leithania.

Now, these Transleithan Slavs, Servians, and Croats were



ready to turn their sympathy or their pity towards their Balkan brothers—above all, towards the other Servian peoples. A "Greater Serbia" extending to the Adriatic by Herzegovina and Montenegro, to the archipelago by Macedonia, and to the Balkans by the existing Serbia! This idea did not yet haunt the mass of the Servo-Croats, but it already enchanted the dreams of some chosen spirits. And the Magyar asked himself with dismay what would become of his little Hungary in face of this enormous Slavdom of the south, while to the north another Slavdom would perhaps take shape, reuniting Czechs, Moravians, Poles, Ruthenians. These two Slavdoms might unite in a single mass, hostile to the Hungarian fatherland, for a third Slav power cherished the hope of one day gathering to its Kremlin at Moscow all the homage of all Slavs, and proclaimed the necessity of a Panslavic empire.

Already in the past this Panslavic union had been made; in 1849 it was only the coalition of the Servo-Croats and of the Russians, lending itself to the service of Vienna, that had succeeded in overcoming the Hungarian revolution. That in 1878, on the morrow of the Congress of Berlin, thirty years after Jellacich and Paskiewitch, the Hungarians had not forgotten that coalition, that they feared some future renewal of it should be fatal to their independence, nobody in France, where for thirty-five years past we have been unable to forget certain things, will find reason to be astonished.

But that this bogey of Panslavism should have continued to affright the Magyars as late as 1905, twenty-five years after the emancipation of Bulgaria, might perhaps surprise us if we did not know that every day of these twenty-

five years the people of Pesth had their anger rekindled or their uneasiness revived by the charitable monitions of their associates, the friendly reminders of their allies, the calumnies of Vienna, and the "scientific" theories of Berlin.

For the last twenty-five years, from 1880 to 1905, the example of Bulgaria has shown us what becomes of a Slav people whom the apostles and soldiers of Panslavism have set free, and who were once claimed as his own by the Muscovite protector.

From the day when the Bulgarian realised his own needs and was able to choose for himself, from the day when he had freely to decide upon his course, did he hesitate between the material bonds of race and the calculations of interest or spiritual affinities? The Bulgarian has not remained a puppet under Muscovite control, a pillar of greater Slavdom. He has become the advanced sentinel of the west, the disciple and the representative of our civilisation, of our commerce, of our European ideal. Who better than he can speak to-day of progress, of justice, and of liberty? And who can act better in consequence, better educate the crowd, lifting it out of the rut where four hundred years of Turkish oppression and Phanariot unscrupulosity had trampled on it? Consider the work of the Bulgarian Exarch in Macedonia.

The Bulgarian—(and every liberated people, Slav or not, will always act so: the memories of servitude make the freed man shy of risking his independence)—the Bulgarian has not involved his future in one or other of those mystical or physical combinations which the politicians who swear by race—the "racians," if I may call them so—would like to establish between all the descendants of one savage ancestor,

between all the offspring of the same female or the same stallion, between all the participators in an outworn tradition or in an evil heredity—for vices and blemishes are inherited, alas! more easily and for longer than good qualities or virtues.

Tradition, heredity, descent : the “racians” would subject international life to the tyranny of the past. Before 1789 their theories would have been admissible ; but for a century we Frenchman have taught people to live in the present, to look to the future, and to judge men, not by their faces or their ancestors, but by their actions and their principles.

Since the Magyars justly boast of having been the most constant followers of our French ideas, why has it taken them twenty-five years to perceive that an educated Slav becomes a European like ourselves, that a liberated Slavdom understands its own interests and its own duties, does not sell or make over to others the disposition of its destinies, but tries to reconcile its national needs with the needs of its neighbours, and, respecting the rights of others, requires also that its own should be respected ?

The reason is that while they are constant, if rather distant, friends of France, the Magyars were first of all the allies of Berlin, the associates of Prussian might, the rather too credulous admirers of German science ; and it is well known of what crimes against humanity Prussian might is capable, and what errors of conduct German science seems sometimes to justify.

Science of races, science of tongues : because ethnography discovers an evident difference between black, white, or yellow skins ; smooth, woolly, or curly heads ; black, brown, or fair hair ; round or long skulls ; and because

linguistics establishes a certain distinction between Semitic or Indo-European, Slav or Germanic, Celtic or Latin speech, humanity must therefore be cut into "scientific" slices, in contempt of individual desires, national affections, universal justice, and the world organised according to a "natural" hierarchy in which men and peoples have no right to happiness, to life, except by reason of their connection with the races, their familiarity with the tongues, which are proclaimed superior.

Superior, and, so to speak, supremely superior, are the Hohenzollern's people. Inferior are all the others, but in due degree ; for from the Negro, the destined victim of the colonists' cruelty, to the Hohenzollern, the representative of God, men and peoples are ranged in a scale whose degrees of ignominy, of honour, or of splendour are decided in German estimation by their hostility, their goodwill, or their servility towards the Master.

The Slavs occupy one of the lowest rungs of this ladder, because they have always furnished the most valiant of the Hohenzollern's enemies or the least resigned of his victims, because Berlin only exists at their expense, and because, working in secret like burrowing "rabbits" (the phrase of William II.'s Chancellor), they ceaselessly undermine the fair order of this Prussian hierarchy. Lower than the Latins, lower even than the French, on a level with the yellow races, who are good for nothing but to be exploited in the interests of commerce, is the place assigned by Berlin to those false Europeans, those neighbours of the Asiatic, those cousins, in truth, of the yellow races. And there are even some yellow men who, having formed a connection or thrown in their lot with the Hohenzollern, should take a long pre-

cedence of those "ill-complexioned" whites. The Turk and the Magyar are only yellows it is true, but yellows in the service of the Prussian master.

Despise the Slav, despoil him, oppress him, never go to his aid, but excite, arm, and support his enemies. This is the lesson which for thirty years they of Pesth have received from Berlin, and, nation of soldiers as they are, the Hungarians have only too faithfully followed this word of command. They have been taught, moreover, that, being yellow like the Turk, they should help the Osmanlee in his usual work, cover his most repulsive vices and his most odious crimes with their chivalrous renown—a family feeling has made these men of honour bring their homage to the feet of Abd-ul-Hamid !

During twenty-five years—from 1880 to 1905—Hungary only played the part of broker between Berlin and Yildiz-Kiosk—and of dupe. For it was trickery, this bogey of Panslavism ; so was the community of race between the huzzars of Rakoczi and the conglomeration of Byzantines, Circassians, Arabs, Syrians, Phanariots, renegade Franks, that the Turks of Stamboul are to-day ; so was the pretended relationship of an honest Magyar with that Armeno-Kurdish mule, Abd-ul-Hamid ; trickery again, and costly trickery, was the closing of that Macedonian road which, had it been open, would have made of the Magyars the liberators and the educators of the Balkans, but also the first to profit by Balkan independence ; trickery, above all, and hateful trickery, was the stoppage of intercourse and of justice between Pesth, the terminus of European civilisation, and Salonica, the entry to Levantine barbarism.

To undeceive the people of Pesth, it has required the

Russian revolution to come and suppress their vain terror of the Ogre. They recognise at last that Slav is not for always a synonym for slave, that the Slav people aspires to happiness like another, and that Moscow will have henceforth, for long years to come, a more pressing business than to mass the forces of Panslavism against the outposts of Western reason.

And it has required also that the German partner and the German ally should have made their exigencies lie heavy on Hungary, that Vienna, and behind Vienna, Berlin, should have arrogated for their superior tongue the eternal monopoly of command. "Equality of Rights" says the constitution of the Dual Empire; but a Prussian recognises no equality except with a Prussian, and when another people—were it an ally, were it a friend—dares to claim equal rights, Vienna and Berlin straightway let loose against it the brute force of men and things.

Since 1848, Vienna thought to hold in reserve against the Magyar the brute force of the Servo-Croats. To-day, to gain them over, Vienna seems to pay attention to some of their grievances. But Pesth, playing the same game, makes the same advances to Slavs within and without the border: Macedonia will profit by this Austro-Hungarian rivalry, as formerly she suffered from their accord.

\* \* \* \* \*

Politics are not the only thing involved. Economic interests are implicated. Of that Turko-Magyar-Austro-German combination, whose most visible result was the ruin of Macedonia, another result not less evident was the enrichment of German financiers and merchants alone.

From William II. and his people, Abd-ul-Hamid bought

for good ready money the instruments for torturing the peoples of his empire. Vienna and Pesth, therefore, co-operated in the ruin of Macedonia—whose prosperity would have been for their own enrichment—only to procure the biggest takings for the bankers and gunsmiths of Berlin.

Open the reports of the British consuls on the situation of Macedonian commerce. The English Consul at Salonica writes in June 1905 :

Commerce taken as a whole was better in 1904 than in 1903 ; imports and exports were higher, and this progress is due partly to the less disturbed state of the province during the first part of the year, but chiefly to an excellent harvest. Great business activity was hoped for at the end of the year ; but this hope was entirely disappointed. To imagine that a greater security reigns in this country, and that business, in consequence, is going to increase enormously—as was asserted in certain quarters—is ridiculous optimism. Nothing could be further from the truth ; the country is as unsafe as ever, and trade only shows some improvement in comparison with the very bad year of 1903.

Who is the greatest sufferer from this state of matters ? The maritime nations hardly do more than buy in Macedonia ; they come to Salonica and Kavala for corn, tobacco, and skins. But where does Macedonia buy the cloth, iron, sugar, the coarse articles and products with which her poverty forces her to be content ?

For fezes and cigarette-paper, Austria-Hungary has practically the monopoly of imports. All imported fezes are made in Austria-Hungary, and out of £24,000 sterling of cigarette-paper, £18,000 are of Austro-Hungarian origin.

The commercial museum of Hungary has permanent agents at Uskub ; they are, in fact, resident commercial travellers. The first place in imports is held by Austria-Hungary, which has the advantage of proximity, and whose manufacturers endeavour to improve this natural advantage by every means in their power,

Of what good are the inquiries of commercial agents and the efforts of manufacturers, if diplomatists sacrifice Austro-Hungarian commerce to William II.'s little profits? Sooner or later this question must almost spontaneously obtrude itself upon the people of Vienna as well as of Pesth. They will feel the need sooner or later of a prosperous Macedonia instead of a ravaged Turkey. Instead of strategic lines and armoured trains, conveying German guns, rifles, cartridges, and accoutrements from Uskub to Salonica, and from Monastir to Dedeagatch, the Hungarians will want expresses or harmless goods-trains passing to and fro without rifle-shots or risk of pillage, and distributing at each station wares and commercial travellers. They will aspire to sleeping-cars and an Indian mail which, on the route from Ostend to Salonica, will use the Hungarian railway system, and make of Vienna and Pesth stages on the world's highway between London, Port Said, and Bombay.

Agricultural Hungary feeds only seventeen millions of men on 282,000 square kilometres: hardly sixty inhabitants to the kilometre. Agricultural and industrial Hungary could support twice that number, if only she had a sufficient business connection, for she has already the raw material, minerals, coal, and labour in plenty, and she will soon have factories, industries, and railways in abundance. Outside the national market, there is only one customer for her manufactures, but that is a near one: the Balkans and the Levant. Hungarian industries will not be able to live without Bulgarians, Servians, Macedonians, Albanians, Armenians, even Turks, pacified, regenerated, delivered from terror and want, sure of the present and confident in the future,



The English Consul at Buda-Pesth wrote in 1905 :

In recent years Hungary has endeavoured, in a systematic manner and on a given plan, to create new industries and to develop the old ones by the assistance of the State, in order that the country may lose its strictly agricultural character. The importance of this evolution deserves that its results should be shown by a few statistics. The first intervention of the Hungarian State in commerce dates from 1881: exemptions from taxes were accorded which brought about the creation of 195 different factories and 266 agricultural distilleries. In 1889 there was a reorganisation of the central administration, the creation of a Ministry of Commerce and of a Ministry of Agriculture, commissioned to develop trade and industry: the amelioration of the finances aided this enterprise. In 1890 a new law was passed for the development of manufactures; besides exemption from taxes, pecuniary assistance is given by the State to new enterprises, starting from the following principles :

1. Industrial activity depends above all on private enterprise.
2. But special encouragements are due to industries which favour agricultural and mining production.
3. Industries which supply a general demand must be encouraged.
4. Industries capable of aiding the industries already existing in the country must be introduced and encouraged.

Transport at reduced prices, exemption from taxes, State orders, pecuniary subsidies, professional education of engineers and artisans are the means employed. Exemption from taxes may last fifteen years. Pecuniary assistance has risen annually to a total of a million crowns; it must be reckoned that from 1890 to 1900 five million crowns have been distributed to the greater industries, without counting subsidies to the small ones.

Here are some of the principal results :

#### PRODUCTION IN ORE AND METALS

(in millions of crowns)

1892	1894	1896	1898	1900	1902
64	73	85	96	106	103

#### SUGAR MANUFACTURE

(in thousands of hundredweights)

1898	1899	1900	1901	1902
2,030	2,467	2,504	2,877	2,627

RAILWAYS

(in kilometres)

1855	1865	1875	1885	1895	1902
557	2,160	6,422	9,002	13,921	17,407

These railways ought, nevertheless, to be useful and "pay," these manufactures ought to have an outside market. Is it not an economic paradox or the result of foolish management that Hungarian industry and commerce, situated at the doors of the Levantine world, installed on the great highways and waterways that lead thither, make only an insignificant figure in the ports of Europe and Asia?

HUNGARIAN EXPORTS

(in millions of crowns)

	Austria.	Germany.	Turkey-in-Europe.	Turkey-in-Asia.
1900	949	141	7	3
1901	903	140	7	4
1902	947	154	6	3

Out of the thirteen hundred million crowns (in round figures) of Hungarian exports, Austria and Germany are responsible for eleven hundred millions; similarly, of imports, out of eleven hundred million crowns, Austria and Germany are responsible for nine hundred and fifty. It is therefore Vienna and Berlin who control five-sixths of the total commerce of Hungary.<sup>1</sup>

As long as the economic situation remains thus, what meaning can the constitutional equality of rights between the two States of the Dual Empire have? The Magyars

<sup>1</sup> For the above figures see Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, No. 3,343.

may revolt as they like against the exigencies of Vienna and Berlin ; they are in a trap ! and the people of Pesth know, by personal experience, where economic dependence leads to. For thirty years almost, that has been the very means by which they themselves have held and driven Serbia, have oppressed her, delivered her over to the excesses of Alexander and Milan.

If Hungary wishes to be free, she feels to-day that she must open the doors of the Levant to her commerce. The Vardar route is a necessity to her. The pacification and prosperity of Macedonia become indispensable to her if her manufactures are to have a farm which can double the extent of her fields, the number of her flocks, of her inhabitants, and vary infinitely under the most admirable of climates the species and nature of her products. Pesth must have her Rotterdam in Salonica in order that the ports of the Levant may become at last her customers.

I say "her Rotterdam," and not another Fiume. As Dutch Rotterdam serves as maritime port to the German Rhine, so Macedonian Salonica must serve as an outlet to the commerce of Hungary, of Serbia, of Central Europe. To obtain this result it is not necessary that the Servian or Hungarian flag should fly at Salonica as at Belgrade or Fiume, and the Magyars are well aware that the annexation of Macedonia would draw upon them as many evils as her pacification would bring benefits.

But it was another piece of German diplomatic cleverness to hold up so long the Magyar bogey before the nations of the West while frightening the Magyars with the Panslavist spectre. "Beware of Salonica ! If you deliver Salonica from the knife of Abd-ul-Hamid you deliver her

to the bayonet of the Austro-Hungarian!" People in Pesth know that an annexed Macedonia would give a crushing superiority to the Slav nations in the Transleithan kingdom, would excite against the Magyar the hate of all the Balkan peoples, and cost him, if not a permanent war with his neighbours of Cettinje, Belgrade, and Sofia, and with Europe, at least the almost equally heavy burden of a military occupation and a continually menaced possession.

No, not annexation. What the Magyars, like the peoples of the Balkans, like Europe, like the Turk himself, like the world, need, in short, is, by the financial and military control of the Powers, peace and order on the road to Salonica, and an international commission at the mouths of the Vardar as at the mouths of the Danube. From the day when the Hungarians, understanding their own interests, will join their efforts to those of the Western Powers and of the Balkan States, the cause of civilisation will be gained in Macedonia. Crete was delivered by the cordial understanding of the French, English, and Italian admirals; Macedonia will be delivered by the cordial co-operation of the Western Powers and Hungary.

VICTOR BÉRARD.



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## PART II

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**PART I**  
***THE REFORMS***





## CHAPTER I

### THE AUSTRO-RUSSIAN AGREEMENT; THE MISTAKE OF MUERZSTEG

AT the reopening of the Macedonian Question in the commencement of 1902, it was not possible to connect the insurrectionary agitation which began to make itself felt throughout the Bulgarian world with a general state of disturbance into which the East or Europe itself was plunged. All was calm, and the insurgents were neither taking advantage of the momentary embarrassments of the Sultan and the divided attention of the Great Powers, nor influenced by some epidemic of bloodshed. Thus in the Courts of Europe, and in the Cabinets, some surprise was shown at the sudden aggravation of the Macedonian trouble, and at the threatenings of an acute and far-reaching crisis. On February 28th, 1902, M. de Montebello, French Ambassador at St. Petersburg, writing to M. Delcassé, described the revolutionary agitation in Macedonia as the return of an annual phenomenon.

It might have been hoped [adds the Ambassador] that the visit to St. Petersburg of the Archduke Ferdinand of Austria would have produced a salutary impression and arrested, for some time at least, the intrigues of the agitators in Macedonia. It must have been known, in fact, that the voyage of the Archduke has confirmed the agreement established between Russia and Austria at the time of the visit of the Emperor Francis-Joseph in 1897. The present agitation is therefore of a character all the more serious in that it shows itself more active than ever, in spite of the political events which should have checked it.

Thus at St. Petersburg, as evidently at Vienna also, there was a total want of comprehension of the nature of the Macedonian movement. It was believed to be an enterprise

on the part of some audacious committees. "The committee which has its seat in Bulgaria," writes M. de Montebello, "is actively engaged in plotting." And the Ambassador whose information about the distant events of European Turkey is acquired at the Court of the Tsar indicates no other cause for the incipient insurrection than the action of this committee. He does not see behind the agitators a whole people whose patience has come to an end, and of whom the committees are only the revolutionary representation. He therefore believes, like the diplomatists of St. Petersburg and of Vienna, in the efficacy of a merely diplomatic solution. He cannot understand that at the mere word of a visit of an Austrian Archduke to the Russian Court, the Macedonian patriots have not disappeared into their holes.

His is almost a classic error. It has been committed before him in the East by generations of diplomatists, and each time that a great national awakening takes place it has been seen governing the deliberations of the representatives of the Great Powers. It has thwarted the course of many natural tendencies, retarded all solutions, and been as great a source of tears and blood as the tyranny of the Sultan, whose constant support it has been, and who has used it to his advantage. Those to whose hands are committed the destinies of great empires believe too readily that the little peoples will always be obedient to their voices, that they will willingly make every sacrifice and endure the worst suffering rather than resist their will or hinder their plans. Before such a state of matters comes to pass, the Great Powers must take no political action that shall not be for the benefit of the peoples, and there must be behind the protection of the great no views of political self-interest, no ambition for which the little nations have to suffer.

In 1902, as was announced by all agents of the Powers in the Balkans, the Macedonian world was ripe for revolt—a revolt which was the generous impulse of a persecuted people, unable any longer to submit. We shall describe in the course of this work what were and are still the conditions of its economic, social, and individual life. That impulse and that outburst could no longer be held within bounds by

the prestige of the diplomacy of the Great Powers. And that diplomacy was to be all the less obeyed in that a few years before it had fallen into a real error, an error which weighed heavily on the unfortunate Macedonians, forcing them into revolution. The agreement of 1897 between Russia and Austria-Hungary, tending to maintain the *status quo* in the Balkans, is what rendered the Macedonian insurrection inevitable.

On January 31st, 1903—at the very hour therefore when events of the utmost gravity were developing in Macedonia—*L'Européen* of Paris published the following :

The Act of 1897, by which the two Governments of Vienna and St. Petersburg engaged reciprocally to change nothing in the map of the Balkans, is one of the most evident causes of the troubles in Macedonia. Strong in his recent experience of the Armenian crisis, the Sultan had no need of a formal promise of disinterestedness from the two Great Powers to feel his hands as free in Europe as in Asia, and yet he is not the man to neglect a single trump that happens to be in his hand. For five years administrative, military, and Albanian irresponsibles have been indulging in amazing pranks between the Pindus and the Rhodopes. According to a consul in Macedonia, the Christian population in the three vilayets of Cossovo, Monastir, and Salonica has been diminishing in large proportions in the last five years.

What a mere publicist had perceived in the course of a rapid journey in the Balkans, the political guides of Austria and Russia had, doubtless, not failed to recognise long before. The agreement of 1897 was mischievous. The two adversaries had presumed to reserve for themselves the settlement of the question and to exclude totally the other signatories of the Treaty of Berlin, which would not prevent them from cheating each other on the day when they should divide the spoil between themselves. The Christians of Macedonia were the sufferers from the arrangement by losing even the shadow of protection secured to them by the fear of the concert of Europe, still powerful by fits and starts at Constantinople. The Sultan knew well that he remained absolute master of a province in which two ambitious Powers kept watch on each other, while they agreed in discarding all political principles and all the feelings of humanity. The game was in his hands, and he let himself go.

In 1902, therefore, it was too late to restrain the insurrectionary movement by the touching picture of the friendship of Russia and Austria, or by the threat of the displeasure of those two Great Powers. Instead of permitting, from the month of April on, the mobilisation of a considerable Ottoman force, it would have been urgently necessary to force on the Sultan an earnest and complete plan of reform, and to begin to apply it without delay, under the control of an international commission. And the agents of the disinterested Powers understood very well that this was so. In October 1902, M. de la Boulinière, Minister of France at Sofia, proposed an understanding between the Powers. A few days later, M. Steeg, French Consul at Salonica, sketched a first plan of practical reforms, which has had to be taken into consideration since. The month of November passed in discussions between the Cabinets on the steps to be taken to bring about the intervention of the European concert. And the work of elaborating administrative reforms being carried on, there was received on December 9th a *Pro Memoria* from M. Bapst, French Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople, on the necessity of a sound financial system for Macedonia, and on the 15th a second note from M. Steeg, completer than the first.

It looked as if French diplomacy was going to set Europe on the right path, the only path which might have saved the situation and spared thousands of human lives. Reforms and control were becoming inevitable, and it only remained to add the simulacrum of naval intervention which was employed later for the precarious and tardy action of 1904. But the "interested parties" were on the watch. The Sultan, well advised, had played an old farce which always succeeds. He had taken the initiative in the measures which were about to be forced on him. On December 1st he issued the "Instructions concerning the vilayets of European Turkey," and appointed two commissions, over one of which presided an "inspector of reforms," Hussein-Hilmi Pasha. A little later he proclaimed an amnesty.

As if by chance, soon after, on December 30th, 1902, the Tsar sent his chancellor to the Bulgarians and Servians with

his commands that they should keep quiet. Then Count Lamsdorff went on to Vienna, and thus the world was impressed with the idea that the two empires were taking active measures in common. And all vague desires of a common intervention of the States of Europe were laid to sleep for a while.

Meanwhile the Dual Alliance of Austria and Russia in the Balkans was bound to appear concerned in reforms, having indicated its purpose to take on itself alone the whole task which had seemed on the point of accomplishment by the majority of the Great Powers. From this necessity came the note communicated to the Sultan on February 21st, 1903, and published in brief by the *Messenger du Gouvernement* of St. Petersburg on the 25th of the same month. It was nothing but a simple palinode, to which we shall have occasion to return.

Some measures were suggested to the Porte, and accepted with a readiness which astonished M. Constans, who remarks it in a note to M. Delcassé. We should be astonished only at the astonishment of the Minister of France, if it were not strongly tinctured with irony. It is evident that the Porte must have been pleasantly surprised at the modesty of the Austro-Russian demands, unless it was prepared for them beforehand. And this was on the eve of events whose tremendously serious character all agents of the Great Powers in the East agreed in foreseeing!

These events grew to such proportions that western opinion could not long remain indifferent, nor long admire the coalition of the two empires "most nearly concerned" in the work. In the course of that blood-stained year 1903, we constantly see one or other of the French, English, or Italian Governments alarmed. The Marquis of Lansdowne becomes particularly pressing, and an English plan is sketched. Vienna and St. Petersburg grow uneasy; indeed, it becomes their sole anxiety. The carrying out of the minimum programme of February is neglected, for June is allowed to pass before two Swedish officers arrive in Salonica to help to reorganise the police. Their Belgian comrades were only to join them much later.

The monopoly of the two empires was seriously menaced; and the Tsar and the Emperor felt the necessity of striking public imagination by a solemn act. They held a meeting at Muerzsteg, and there traced out a plan of reforms. In order that this plan should be adopted by all the Great Powers, the Austro-Russian diplomatists imagined the device of a division into sections confided to the different Powers, each of which should send some officers. The thoroughly incomplete programme of police reorganisation seemed to become in their hands a thing which would be of profit to Macedonia and at the same time satisfy the French and English desires of intervening. By the same act Austria was assuming the right to set foot in the part of the country nearest her Bosnian frontier; the occupation of Uskub was for her a first step on the road to Salonica.

The programme of Muerzsteg was, therefore, only another attempt to keep Macedonia under the tyrannous agreement of 1897. It had only one advantage: it established the principle that reforms were necessary. It ended in a double failure: the failure of the intervention of the two Powers in the Balkans, since after being carried on for two years it leaves Macedonia more disturbed, more anarchical than ever; and the failure of the exclusive policy of the two sovereigns who signed it, since the English initiative of 1905 brought about the naval intervention of the five Powers, and a common financial control.

Nothing can better emphasise that failure than the creation, independently of the reforms provided for at Muerzsteg, of an international financial commission. Nevertheless, the decrepit institutions of the Austro-Russian programme have been preserved. The civil agents, who have been merely secretaries to Hilmi Pasha, the Sultan's creature, and witnesses to his integrity, are still at their posts, and the officers of police are still pretending to reform something, powerless as they are, in their reduced numbers, to render any real service.

And so to the anarchy in Macedonia the Great Powers have merely added the confusion of their machinery of reform. The Macedonians, placing their hope in the control

of Europe, are confronted by two plans : one, the Muerzsteg programme, has been a miserable failure ; the other, which may be called the programme of Mitylene, has not yet been tried, and, besides, only bears on one point of the reform, the financial question. Important as the latter is, there are other points of no inferior importance, still far too much neglected—for example, the reorganisation of justice. Moreover, the arrangements made by the Powers as a sequel to the demonstration of Mitylene are disquietingly provisional. The powers of the financial commission expire in the year 1907, and no one knows if they will be renewed, or on what conditions. To-day there is confusion, to-morrow perhaps there will be nothing at all.

It may therefore seem utterly idle to inquire what, in the application of the Muerzsteg programme, is incompatible with a wise and useful plan, and with a sincere effort at reform. This, nevertheless, is what we shall endeavour to do in this work ; for we must always take into account both the illusions of the public concerning the quality of the Austro-Russian initiative, and the real efforts made in matters of detail by sincere agents of a double-edged policy to ameliorate the fate of the most unhappy population in the world.

However, if we must conclude that the Muerzsteg programme is incapable of application, we shall make no difficulty about recognising that the Austro-Russian initiative has at least had the advantage of establishing the principle that reform is necessary, at the very moment when the principle might be most useful. And if this reform is very far from yielding the fruits reasonably expected of it, if up till now it has been more productive of tears and blood than of any real alleviation, we still cannot deny that it exists, theoretically and actually. Henceforth Europe must consider herself pledged to the Macedonian people by a positive promise ; she can discharge her obligation only if she amends the erroneous principle of her action in Macedonia. The reforms need to be reformed most of all. It is therefore of great importance to bring before the eyes of the public at large a picture of the evil sown by the error of the diplomats. This is what we shall try to do.



## CHAPTER II

### THE INSURRECTION OF 1903 AND THE REPRESSION

THE insurrection of 1903 was above all Macedonian, not Bulgarian, as some have tried to establish. On March 28th, 1903, M. Maurice Kahn wrote to the *Temps* as follows :

Some ten years ago a curious movement took shape in several Bulgarian villages of Macedonia. The founder of this movement instituted a Sunday school, in which, from earnest talk, soon sprang political discussion ; and presently out of this movement for popular education sprang the Macedonian propaganda. The Sunday school had been founded in all good faith ; the Bulgarian-Macedonian "intellectuals" were simply following the example afforded of yore by the "intellectuals" in Russia : they had "gone to the people." It is not unimportant to note that in these first steps originated the first dreams of liberty.

It might be added that the policy of the Sublime Porte furnished this propaganda with every motive for taking on a revolutionary complexion. Since the creation of the Exarchate in 1870, the Turks have unceasingly checked the Bulgarian nation in its aspirations towards progress and the light. Suppressed *de facto* after the events of 1878, the Bulgarian Church in Macedonia has had to reconquer its position step by step, by dint of patient efforts and diplomatic art. It is the schools that have suffered the worst vicissitudes. A general regulation, elaborated about 1892, laid the different schools of the empire under the Turkish control. The embassies of France, Austria, Italy, and the United States Legation at Constantinople discussed it and made reservations as to the people under their protection. Not being able to claim that protection, the Bulgarians came

under a circular from the Grand Vizier at the end of 1893, establishing :

1. The nomination for each school of a lay representative, responsible to the Mussulman authorities.
2. That the curriculum of studies should be subject to the preliminary approval of the Minister of Public Instruction.
3. The supervision of the establishments and books by a local functionary.

Several schools were closed for not conforming to these rules. After long negotiations, however, the first of the three requirements was suppressed, and the bishops alone remained responsible for their schools. What remained of the circular was sufficient, in the hands of the most mischief-making of governments, to cause permanent confusion in the scholastic system of the Exarchate.

In regard to this matter it is interesting to hear the words of M. D.-M. Brancoff, a very well-informed writer on the Macedonian question :<sup>1</sup>

The Exarchate does not enjoy the same autonomy in scholastic matters as the Greek Patriarchate. To open a Bulgarian school a special permission, called a "rouhssatnamé," is necessary. And how difficult it is to obtain ! Even when it is obtained, the working of the school is not assured. Formalities are endless ; the administration requires in fact from the bishops and presidents of the Bulgarian religious community the list of teachers, their diplomas, the classical books, and the school programme, at the same time as the "rouhssatnamé.

Now, the Turkish inspectors are almost fully empowered to legalise or not the documents submitted to them. They often abuse their powers. Thus it happens that an inspector can postpone for whole months the legalisation expected of him, or refuse to give his approbation to the name of a teacher or of a classical book. The inspectors can in this way paralyse the working of schools already opened, or prevent the opening of new ones. No satisfaction is obtained by addressing complaints of the conduct of an inspector to the authorities ; on the contrary, the more complaints there are against this functionary, the greater will be his favour with the Government. Sometimes, indeed, the inspectors incite the malcontents to complain. The primary Turkish inspectors are, therefore, nothing but faithful servants of a policy which is directed against this or that Christian population.

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<sup>1</sup> D.-M. Brancoff, *La Macédoine et sa population chrétienne*. Paris : Plon-Nourrit et Cie., 1905.

For ten years the scholastic work of Bulgaria has been put outside the law. Each year the difficulties increase and the possibility of creating new schools diminishes. And this is what the policy of the "Divan" aims at.

Valis, mutessarifs, calmacans, inspectors, policemen, and soldiers, all are at the disposition of the Patriarch of the Phanar, whenever there is a chance of closing a Bulgarian school, or opening a Greek school in a purely Bulgarian district. It is by force also that the Government imposes Greek or Servian teachers on the Bulgarian populations.

There are cazas where the Bulgarian element exists, but in which the Turkish Government has never permitted the population to open Bulgarian schools. These cazas are those of Preshovo (vilayet of Kossovo), Karaferia (vilayet of Salonica), Malgara (vilayet of Adrianople), Dercos (sandjak of Tchataldja). In all these cazas, the Bulgarian population, in spite of its repeatedly expressed desire to pass under the spiritual jurisdiction of the Exarchate, is maintained within the pale of the Patriarchate. The vali of Kossovo does not even permit the Bulgarian Metropolitan of Uskub to visit the caza of Preshovo.

A general suspicion weighed on all who came out of the Bulgarian schools. In spite of the hindrances thrown in the way of free knowledge, the teachers in the schools of the Exarchate succeeded in laying the foundations of a truly broad and modern instruction. The great high schools of Salonica, Uskub, and Monastir became model secondary establishments suitable to the wants of the East. From them came a generation of young men, active, cultured, well armed for the battle of life. But, in the eyes of the Sultan and of his functionaries, these men bore the stigma of progress, they were "suspect." In a country like Macedonia, where there are no manufactures, where commerce is still carried on on old-fashioned lines, where the general insecurity, the administrative tyranny, the want of social machinery, prevent the development of individual effort, the new class of educated Bulgarians could only look for employment in the public administration or in that of the great monopolist companies. All doors were systematically closed against this class. Turkish stupidity excluded the Bulgarian from the offices of State, those of the Ottoman debt, the tobacco monopoly, and all the situations on the

railways. Even the liberal professions would not receive him. M. Brancoff says in the work already quoted :

It is said that in the towns of Macedonia the Greek intellectuals are more numerous than the Bulgarian intellectuals. As a matter of fact there are more Greek doctors, lawyers, chemists, etc., than Bulgarian ones. The vilayets of European Turkey boast in all twelve Bulgarian doctors and six lawyers. These are the only ones who have been able to remain in their native land and serve it. But in reality the number of Bulgarian intellectuals contributed by Macedonia is much more considerable than is believed. These Bulgarian intellectuals are worthy rivals of the Greek intellectuals of Macedonia. For a quarter of a century the classical and modern high schools, first of Salonica, and then of Monastir and Adrianople, the Bulgarian secondary schools of Uskub and Serres, and the orthodox seminary of Constantinople, have furnished a great number of teachers and professors to Macedonia. On the other hand, many young men have gone to continue their studies in the specialist schools and faculties of France, Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Belgium, Italy, Russia, and Bulgaria. Their actual number is known. There are more than four hundred young Bulgarians of Macedonia having a special university education : doctors, lawyers, engineers, architects, teachers, artists, chemists. There are, in fact, eighty Bulgarian doctors, natives of Macedonia, some of them women. The number of licentiates and doctors of laws is still greater, and among the students who have finished their philosophical and philological studies there are likewise women. Unfortunately the door of their country remains shut to all these young intellects which only ask to be used. Instead of remaining at home in the vilayets of Turkey, where there is great need of intellectual powers, they are forced into exile in Bulgaria, where they hold important posts either in the administration or the Government, in the teaching staffs of the high schools or at the university. Some of them, professors at the University of Sofia, have been, in consideration of their scientific works, elected corresponding members of several foreign academies and learned societies. Others have gone into diplomacy, are lawyers, doctors, judges, artists, engineers, architects, chemists, and publicists. The latter have in their hands the greater number of the Bulgarian journals and reviews. More than three hundred young men from Macedonia have finished their studies at the military school of Sofia, and are to-day officers in the Bulgarian army. In Macedonia, on the contrary, the intellectual youth has no career but in teaching, and after we know what difficulties. In 1902 there were in Macedonia 1,220 professors and teachers, all of them Bulgarians, born in Macedonia. There were only fifteen native Bulgarians, and four foreign professors. The Bulgarians of Macedonia who are teachers in Bulgaria number 450.

It is not, therefore, intellectual vigour that is wanting in Macedonia, but liberty. The Bulgarian intellectuals are hunted not only by the Turkish Government, but also by the Greek Patriarchate; and that not because

they are considered, as is commonly said, a source of disorder, but rather because they are feared as a source of ever-active energy which will not bury itself in routine, but makes always for progress.

In such circumstances, must not the intellectuals of the country inevitably long to throw off the yoke which crushes them, and dream of revolt? They demand, and vehemently, that they should no longer rot in prisons, no longer be sent into exile; that they should be able to consecrate themselves entirely to the service of all, without respect of race or religion, at Salonica and at Monastir, in the university chair, in the laboratory, in the hospitals, clinical thermometer in hand, and in the administration—everywhere, in a word. They ask for liberty and the same rights for all. They have but one aim, one thought: to obtain for themselves those individual rights which the revolution was meant to secure for humanity.

Nevertheless, greedy of knowledge, the young Bulgarians did not cease to instruct themselves. Once they had obtained a degree, they had only two directions in which they could look: they could emigrate to Bulgaria, or wait in impatience and idleness for the advent of a less unjust and barbarous régime. Thus the Turks, in their stupid hatred of education, had dedicated to revolt a whole army of ardent and vigorous minds.

Emigration to the principality of Bulgaria developed enormous proportions. At Sofia in 1902, out of seventy thousand inhabitants, eighteen to twenty thousand were born beyond the Rhodopes. The Macedonians, both middle-class and peasantry, who had taken refuge in the principality numbered more than two hundred thousand. The growing agitation in Macedonia, where it was actually no longer possible to live, was communicated to the whole of that unsettled mass. The subjects of the principality sided, naturally, with these unfortunate brothers. Those who are ever on the watch to denounce to the world every movement of the Slavs of the Balkans had a good opportunity of declaring that the dawning insurrection was merely a vast attempt on the part of Bulgaria to secure for her own advantage the three Macedonian vilayets. This popular movement, so natural and so inevitable, was misrepresented on all hands; the noble impulse towards liberty of a crowd of men who had devoted their lives became a foul plot in the reports of the agents of a hostile propaganda. Credit

was not even given to the Bulgarian Government for its attempt to restrain the dangerous enthusiasm of the subjects of Prince Ferdinand. The Prince himself and those of his ministers who succeeded each other in power braved unpopularity in order that they might not see Bulgaria engaged in a bloody conflict. They were unceasing in their assurances of good intentions. A too ardent committee was dissolved, the bands were dispersed on Bulgarian soil, and their chiefs banished far from the Turkish frontiers. In the diplomatic documents published since that time in Europe, a dispatch recognised the loyalty and the prudence of this attitude. Nevertheless, the lie still lives which avers that the organisation of the first Macedonian bands was made under the friendly eye of the Bulgarian Minister and with the subsidies of the principality.

The intentions even of the committees should not be suspected. On December 3rd, 1902, M. Steeg, French Consul, wrote from Salonica to M. Delcassé : " Everything known of these committees leads us to believe that they will spare no effort to bring into their ranks all the Christians in the country (Patriarchists, Greeks, Bulgarians, and Vlachs)." It was, therefore, for a free Macedonia that they worked, without distinction of races. They little thought to find all the clients of Greece under the banner of the Commander of the Faithful.

Of a surety, the insurrection was Bulgarian at the moment of its commencement. Experience has shown since then that the Bulgarians alone had enough energy to conceive it. It was worthy of the noblest and most disinterested of the dreams of freedom ; it made an appeal to the aspirations after liberty of all those who, following the example of the Greeks of the great period of independence, of the Servians of Karageorge and of Milosch, should wish to conquer by a supreme effort the right to live worthily and freely in a free fatherland.

If the Christians of Macedonia had been left to fight it out with the hordes of the Ottoman oppressor, they would have made themselves more or less quickly masters of the situation ; but the interests of the narrowest of policies had

to be reckoned with : the defection of the Greeks, which was organised by the Government of Athens, and the fatherly intervention of Russia and Austria broke the onslaught of the Macedonian patriots. From that date the Sultan was free to take, with the aid of the Greeks, the most implacable and most systematic vengeance on the broken insurrectionists.

Then followed a repression in the Turkish manner. How it was carried out can only be imagined by remembering the methods of which the Armenians were the victims. A whole people was held responsible for the revolt of some of its members. Troops and bashi-bazouks were let loose on the countryside and threw themselves on the villages, while the police of the towns proceeded to make wholesale arrests.

The history of the beginnings of that repression is contained in the memorandum issued by the Bulgarian Government to the Powers on July 28th (August 10th), 1903. As neither the French Yellow-book nor the English Blue-book has reproduced this document, which is not sufficiently known, it may find a place here.

#### MEMORANDUM OF THE BULGARIAN GOVERNMENT

In the course of the three last months (March to June, 1903) the Ottoman Government has taken a series of measures which, far from inaugurating the era of promised reforms and assuring the peace of European Turkey, have had the effect of exasperating the population and giving new life to the revolutionary movement. Instead of punishing those who are alone guilty of offences against public order and security, the Ottoman authorities seek for every pretext for persecuting, terrorising, and ruining the Bulgarian population in the large towns as in the small villages.

Wholesale massacres and individual murders ; the destruction of whole villages, and the emigration of their inhabitants ; pillage and burning of houses ; arrests and tortures ; arbitrary imprisonments and deportations ; confinement in the town of one's birth ; closing or disorganisation of religious or educational institutions ; ruin of merchants and artisans ; seizure and sale of property for the profit of Turks newly arrived in the Bulgarian villages ; collection in advance of the taxes for several years ; economic ruin of the Bulgarian families in consequence of that collection, of the system of farm-rents and of the tax in lieu of military service : such are the achievements of the Ottoman administration in the vilayets of Salonica, Monastir, Uskub, and Adrianople. The proof of this statement is contained in the following account :

## VILAYET OF SALONICA

The members of the Bulgarian community at Salonica, the teachers and pupils of the upper classes in the high schools, the merchants and the artisans, in short all Bulgarians of the intelligent class, have been imprisoned.

The members and the secretary of the Bulgarian community, as well as the Bulgarian notables of Serres, have been arrested, the schools closed since the 20th April (old style), the teachers imprisoned or confined to their houses, the pupils sent home. All the Bulgarian priests and schoolmasters of the caza (district) have been arrested. Children are left unbaptised ; the dead have been buried without religious rites.

The Greeks, seconded by the Turkish authorities, are trying to withdraw the Bulgarian population from the Exarchate, and to bring them under the Patriarchate. Several notables of Serres, after their arrest, have been confined to their native towns : Panafot Belitcheff, a merchant settled at Serres for over ten years, confined in Veles ; St. Bojoff, school inspector, confined in Nevrocop ; Yanaki Gheleff, lawyer, confined in Kostur, etc. The families of these Bulgarians were invited, on the 16th June last, by the chief of the police to leave Serres voluntarily and join their confined relatives ; if not, the police would convey them there by force.

On the 23rd April the authorities of Serres, informed of the presence of a revolutionary band in the neighbourhood of the village of Banitza, sent a detachment of one hundred to one hundred and fifty soldiers with two guns. Instead of pursuing the insurgents the soldiers attacked the village, which was bombarded and entirely destroyed ; sixty-four men, women, and children were killed ; the other inhabitants fled to the mountains.

Most of the Bulgarian priests, schoolmasters, and notables at Petritch and in the caza of the same name are imprisoned, the churches and schools closed. The soldiers are quartered on the inhabitants and indulge in every excess. The village of Tchurilovo was pillaged and almost entirely destroyed by the soldiers and the bashi-bazouks, who massacred most of the inhabitants.

On the 6th May (old style) one hundred and twenty soldiers entered the village of Gorna Ribnitza ; they beat and tortured to death the inhabitants Ivan Stoiloff, Seraphim Stoianoff, Gheorgi Gotzoff, Gheorgi Constantinoff, Christo Neshoff, the women Stana Stoianova and Velika Poreva. The village priest, Dimitri Ivanoff, was beaten by the officer in command of the detachment because he ventured to intercede for the victims. On the 9th May another detachment made its way into the village of Dolna Ribnitza, where it committed similar excesses. On the 12th May the soldiers maltreated the inhabitants of the village of Igumenetz.

Five days after, the villagers Constantine Stoitcheff and Gheorgi Stoitcheff of Igumenetz, while working in their fields, were beaten and left on the spot half-dead. On the 18th May, Nako Trentchoff, of the same place, was tortured and his wife violated by soldiers ; in consequence of these outrages the poor woman lost her reason. The soldiers plundered the houses and barns of the chief inhabitants, then they burned houses,



barns, and outhouses, with the grain, stores, and whatever they could not carry away.

On the 14th May a detachment of one hundred and thirty soldiers entered by night the village of Stenik, plundered the houses and maltreated the inhabitants, among them the "mukhtar" Grozdan Stalkoff. On the 17th May a strong detachment of three hundred soldiers committed acts of unheard-of violence against the inhabitants of the village of Sharbanovo; the soldiers tortured Christo Ivanoff, Vangel Christeff, Anghel Ivanoff, and Christo Angheloff, who were quietly working in their fields. The same day the soldiers quartered in the village of Elleshnitza beat to death the peasants Christo and Tassé Penkovi, Sotir Koliol, and Tassé Philippoff; four days after they tortured the rich Bulgarian notable Gheorgi Naskoff.

On the 3rd June sixty soldiers arrived at the village of Nikodim and cruelly maltreated Stanofa Stankoff, Spas Alexoff, Vangel Gotzeff, Ivan Dimoff, Stofan Stoikoff, Athanas Nicoloff, and Velin Ivanoff. On the 4th June soldiers beat the inhabitants of the village of Goremé, among others Tsone Trafanoff, Athanas Nicoloff, and Constantine Stofanoff. The same excesses were committed by soldiers in the villages of Skirt (10th June) and Gabreni (11th June).

Turkish gendarmes, accompanied by Greek emissaries, march through the villages, inciting the Bulgarian population to recognise the Patriarchate and menacing them with massacre and exile if they do not abandon the Exarchate.

The Bulgarian notables, the schoolmasters, and the greater number of the priests of Strumitza and of this caza are imprisoned. Turkish functionaries and gendarmes as well as agents of the Greek archbishop go through the villages in order to force the Bulgarian population to sign denunciations against Monseigneur Gherassim, Bulgarian Metropolitan of Strumitza, and to go over to the Patriarchate. In order to compromise Monseigneur Gherassim in the eyes of the population, the Turkish authorities, at the beginning of last May, caused the metropolitan church to be surrounded by a cordon of gendarmes, arrested his secretary Duduloff, forced his kavass to leave his service, and, after having thus isolated him, tried to get him to leave his post, declaring that the Sublime Porte no longer recognised him as Metropolitan.

On the 17th May a detachment of soldiers surrounded the village of Burievo, and organised a veritable man-hunt; every villager who ventured outside his house was at once shot; then the soldiers applied themselves to plundering the houses; and burned a dozen. Five days afterwards, other soldiers, passing through the same village, violated two women and a young girl of sixteen, Kera Miteva.

On the 21st April nearly all the notables of Nevrocop were arrested. The next day, and the days following, the notables, the schoolmasters, and the priests in the caza of Nevrocop were arrested in a body. The village of Baldevo had the same fate as Tchurilovo and Banitza. The soldiers and bashi-bazouks killed or arrested all the villagers whom they encountered in the countryside: the work of the fields was abandoned.

On the 1st May more than twenty peasants of Banitchani were cruelly

tortured by the soldiers and bashi-bazouks. On the 3rd a hundred inhabitants of the village of Skrebatno were also tortured; among the victims were old men of eighty and young lads of fifteen. On the 4th the same atrocities took place at the village of Ossikovo, where Thodore Stoiloff and Costa Ilieff died under the lash. On the 5th sixteen persons of the village of Kovatchovitza were tortured. On the 6th five inhabitants of the village of Fotovishta suffered the following torture: after having subjected them to the bastinado, the soldiers fastened pieces of pointed wood between their fingers and then tied their hands tightly with leather straps.

On the 11th six peasants of the village of Obidim were frightfully maltreated. On the 14th twenty Bulgarian notables and the three priests of Libiakhovo suffered unheard-of tortures; two of these priests, Stolan Zimbileff and Thodore Gudeff, were left on the spot unconscious; a young man, Gheorgi Polenoff, was shot by the soldiers. On the 20th May all the men of the village of Laki were beaten. On the 21st the soldiers literally cut to pieces two villagers of Teshovo, and the mutilated heads of the victims were borne through the village. The soldiers and the bashi-bazouks committed similar atrocities and violence in the villages of Paril, Galtaninovo, Tarlisse, Lovtcha, Bielotintzi, Startchistcha, Gherman, Kremen, Martchov-Tchiflik, Leshten, etc. On the 28th April the director of the school at Mekhomia was arrested and conducted under escort to Vodena. On the 23rd of the same month, in the каза of Razlog, three priests, the schoolmasters, and forty of the Bulgarian notables were imprisoned. Schools were shut. On the 2nd May three schoolmasters and five notables of that town were arrested and taken under escort to Serres, where they are detained. On the 5th more than sixty Bulgarian notables of the same town were similarly taken and imprisoned at Serres. In the cazas of Nevrocop, Demir-Hissar, Razlog, etc., the Bulgarians who were able to escape pursuit and massacre fled into the mountains or took refuge in Bulgaria.

In the village of Gramada the soldiers and bashi-bazouks killed the mayor of the village and a grocer, and arrested a dozen peasants. On the 20th April were arrested the schoolmasters Nicolas Hadji-Tasheff, Yanaki Ilieff, Christo Mitoff. On the 20th May the priest Averki, chief of the community, was arrested and conducted under escort to Tetovo (Kalkandelen), where he is imprisoned. From the 21st April the priests, notables, and schoolmasters of Ghevghely were imprisoned. Churches and schools were closed; all the villages of the каза were searched and plundered.

On the 23rd April were arrested at Vodena the notables Ivan and Zano Zaneshoff, Ivan Lageff, and several others. At the same date wholesale arrests were made in the villages of Messimer, Vladovo, Sarakinovo, Tzakoni, Strupino, Dolno-Radevo, etc. At the same period the greater number of the schoolmasters of the whole каза of Vodena were imprisoned and the schools shut. All these unfortunates, among whom were several old men, were thrown together into unventilated prisons, where they were obliged to stand for want of room. Most have suffered cruel treatment. No inhabitant of Vodena can risk going outside the town to work in the

kitchen gardens, which have been devastated by the soldiers. On the 3rd May, in one of these gardens, a woman of sixty years was attacked by five soldiers, who subjected her to the worst outrages.

A great number of notables, schoolmasters, priests, and villagers of the caza of Tikvesh are imprisoned. At Kavadar, chief town of the caza, seven arrested notables were tortured and conducted from village to village in order that they should indicate to the authorities the people associated with the committees. One of them, Christo Shandeff, died in consequence of ill-treatment. Mikhall Ghetcheff had his feet covered with suppurating wounds in consequence of blows received. Entcho Stavreff was shot near the village of Kotchani, in presence of Chefki Bey, a Turkish notable of Kavadar.

Lazo Daftcheff, after having been conducted to the villages of Beghishta, Dragolil, Dabnishta, Gornikovo, where he was pitilessly tortured to make him reveal the depots of arms and the associates of the committees, went to Salonica to get medical attendance, twenty days after being set at liberty: the Russian and English consuls in that town interviewed him, and were eye-witnesses of his wounds and ecchymoses and swollen feet. Daftcheff had been maltreated in presence of the caïmacan and of the chief of police of Tikvesh, as well as of the Turkish notable, Kiani Bey.

At Kotchani the soldiers shot a Bulgarian peasant at the moment when the police were setting him at liberty. In the second fortnight of May the caïmacan of Tikvesh, accompanied by Chefki Bey and Mussa, well known for their acts of brigandage in that region, made a circuit of the villages in his caza, with an escort of four hundred soldiers. He arrested the mayor of the village of Bunarché, Stavri Ghitcheff, and his son, and carried them from one village to another, subjecting them to the worst tortures, in consequence of which Stavri died at Gornikovo: the caïmacan forced the mayor of this last village to sign a document declaring that Stavri Ghitcheff committed suicide. At Rojden he arrested Sekula Yankoff, whom he beat unmercifully; this unfortunate man died on the 22nd May, in the house where he had been shut up.

At Kessendria was arrested Zlati Lazaroff, whom the soldiers wounded severely in the throat, and who was transported to the Turkish hospital at Salonica. Dafo Banianski was beaten to death in the prison at Kavadar. Christo Pope Christoff, son of the priest of the village of Ressofo, died in consequence of tortures inflicted on him: he had been arrested because he had gone to Salonica to complain of the arbitrary acts and violence of the local authorities. On his return from his circuit, the caïmacan brought with him ninety-five Bulgarians, whom he threw into prison at Kavadar; among these prisoners is Monseigneur Methody, chief of the Bulgarian community of that town.

During the three first weeks of the month of July, more than twenty-five villages of the caza of Tikvesh had to suffer acts of violence and depredation on the part of the soldiers and bashi-bazouks. The soldiers are quartered in the village and fed by the inhabitants; they have beaten and tortured a great number of the villagers, whose wives and daughters they have tortured and whose houses they have rifled; they sold in the market

at Kavadar the property they had stolen. The administrative authorities do not interfere.

Here are some instances among more than three hundred cases of violence and atrocity recorded, all with the names of the localities and of the victims. At the village of Rojden the soldiers violated young girls, young women, and even old women of seventy. At Galishta, the "ilavés" (cavalry regiment of Uskub) violated all the women and young girls, and even little girls of ten and twelve years, subsequently gathering together all the inhabitants in the square of the village and threatening to burn them alive if they complained. Some villagers having told these abominations to some beys of Tikvesh, the latter counselled them to be patient, "for nobody could hold in those undisciplined 'ilavés'."

On the 1st July the military authorities searched the houses of the village of Kovatchevitz (caza of Razlog) and effected numerous arrests. A party of the villagers fled to the mountains; fifteen of them succeeded in taking refuge in Bulgarian territory, and established themselves in the village of Lidjani (district of Philippopolis). On the 15th July a detachment of troops entered the village of Gabrovo (caza of Gorna-Djumaia); the soldiers arrested without motive thirty of the inhabitants and severely maltreated them; a certain number of the villagers escaped into the mountains.

On the 17th July a battalion of infantry, composed of eight hundred men, after a short skirmish with a band of insurgents in the neighbourhood of the village of Postolar (caza of Kukush), attacked for no reason this village and sacked it; the soldiers burned ten houses under the pretext that "comitadjis" (associates of the committees or insurgents) were hiding in them. In the commencement of the month of July, four bands of Greek brigands appeared in the cazas of the vilayet of Salonica. One of these bands marched through the nahié (canton) of Niagusa, and captured a notable of that town, for whom it exacted a ransom. Another, in the caza of Kassandra, attacked, on the 8th July, the village of Revenek, where it killed the mayor, his wife, and his son, as well as Ismail Effendi, a lawyer from Salonica, who was passing through the locality.

#### VILAYET OF MONASTIR (BITOLIA)

On the 21st April (old style) all the schoolmasters and six Bulgarian notables of the town of Kostur, fourteen Bulgarians of the village of Krupishta, six from Dambeni, were imprisoned. On the 25th April were arrested the schoolmasters Ivan Stephanoff at Tchetirok, and Mikhaïl Kimoff at Drenitchevo. On the 7th May were imprisoned at Monastir some forty Bulgarians from the villages of Kossinetz, Smardesh, Lubanitz, and Vambel; among the prisoners are eight priests, of whom three are from Kossinetz, three from Smardesh, one from Lubanitz, and one from Vambel.

The flourishing village of Smardesh, which numbered three hundred houses and looked like a pretty little town, was bombarded by the Turkish artillery, and is now nothing but a heap of ruins. On the 30th May

a body of a hundred soldiers and as many bashi-bazouks had an encounter with some insurgents in the neighbourhood of Gabresh. Instead of pursuing the revolutionary band, they entered the village and killed seventeen villagers.

On the 20th June last, a detachment of soldiers, commanded by Mehmed Effendi, broke into the village of Zagoritchani, under pretext of looking for arms. Having found nothing, the soldiers maltreated the inhabitants, beat unmercifully ten of the villagers, and hung up two of these unfortunates by the toes, head downwards. Most of the Bulgarian villages of the caza of Kostur were plundered. The churches and schools are shut.

At the beginning of May were arrested the notable Hadji-Zdravé Hadji-Angheloff, member of the council of the caza of Prilep, the priests G. Schivatcheff, D. Bidjoff, Iv. Adamoff, and sons of this last, as well as thirty-five young men of the town. On the 28th of June fifteen Bulgarian merchants of Prilep were thrown into prison. The cazas of Okhrida, Lerin (Florina), Dibré, Kitchevo, have passed through the same experiences as those of Kostur and Prilep. On the 28th of June the authorities of Okhrida imprisoned without cause eight Bulgarian notables of the town, as well as Ognenoff and Suegaroff, the one the secretary and the other the deacon of the Bulgarian Metropolitan. At the same date were arrested eight inhabitants of the village of Batch (caza of Lerin), who have been incarcerated at Monastir.

The notables of Monastir, Danaïl Gontcheff, P. Robeff, Tassé Ivanoff, Gheorghii Popoff, have been imprisoned since April 23rd. The central prison of Monastir not being capable of containing the great number of Bulgarians arrested and brought from different localities of the vilayet, the lunatic asylum has been made into a prison. On the 8th May the village of Moghila, situated about five miles from Monastir, was partly destroyed by cannon; among the killed were some women. Several families, without shelter and without means of subsistence, are living on herbs and nettles: in every village through which the soldiers and bashi-bazouks have passed, they have left behind them nothing but ruins and want and famine.

On the 8th July a detachment of about two hundred soldiers and as many bashi-bazouks entered the village of Popogleni to look for arms. The commander caused the arrest of the mayor, the two priests, and the notables. The notorious brigand Mouto, *alias* Moutish, of the village of Voshtarani, who was at the head of the bashi-bazouks, caused the two priests to be beaten and dragged by the beard through the streets of the village. A rifle having been found in the house of Ilia Vassileff, he was taken to Monastir and incarcerated in the central prison. Several villagers maltreated by the soldiers went to Monastir and complained to the vali; the Russian and Austrian consuls in that town have seen the bruises and wounds on the bodies of these unfortunates.

At the beginning of the month of July two Greek bands, of twenty-five men each, were formed in the vilayet of Monastir, to operate, in conjunction with the local authorities, against the Bulgarian insurgent bands.

The first band has for chief a certain Ghelé, and operates in the cazas of Kostur and Florina, in the neighbourhoods of the villages of Lehovo, Srebeno, and Zelenitché ; it attacked, wounded, and arrested Foti Nicoloff, as member of a Bulgarian insurgent band, and it delivered him to the Ottoman authorities, who incarcerated him at Monastir. The second band, under the command of a certain Nikita, a Kutzo-Vlach of Magarevo (caza of Monastir), infests the neighbourhood of the villages of Magarevo, Tirnovo, and Nijopolie. These two bands, although they commit murders and thefts, are not interfered with by the authorities.

#### VILAYET OF USKUB (SCOPIÉ)

Since the 19th April last, systematic persecutions of the Bulgarian population of this vilayet have commenced. At Uskub the Bulgarian notables, the secretary of the Bulgarian Metropolitan, and the schoolmasters are in prison. On the 11th June the tribunal of Uskub condemned St. Kableshkoff, director of the secondary school in that town, to a year's confinement because he had in his library the following "revolutionary" books : *Othello* and *Les Misérables*. A young girl of sixteen, Persa Dimtcheva, of Uskub, was condemned by the tribunal of Salonica to a year's imprisonment : at the time when her house was searched, the authorities found two patriotic songs which she had copied four years ago.

In the cazas of Palanka, Kotchani, Kumanovo, Gostivar, the prisons are full of Bulgarian notables, priests, and schoolmasters. The soldiers, the bashi-bazouks, and the Albanians terrorise the population ; the work of the fields has been abandoned. At Veles (Keuprulu), on the 9th May, were arrested the secretary of the metropolitan, the director of the school, the eminent merchant M. Dermendjief, the ex-director of the school at Prilep, Petre Assoff ; chained in pairs, they were taken to Uskub, and, without undergoing any judicial examination, were thrown into prison, and are threatened with deportation to Tripoli in Barbary.

The metropolitan church of Veles has been surrounded by soldiers and bashi-bazouks. The latter killed some Bulgarians in broad daylight in the streets of the town, and no prosecution of the murderers has been attempted. On the 12th June a detachment of soldiers carried off Pera Ignatieva, a young girl of fifteen, from the village of Papraditza (caza of Veles). Her parents demanded her return before the calmacan ; but the latter drove them from the konak, and the fate of the young girl is unknown. On the 25th May twenty-seven Bulgarians, among whom were old men of from seventy to eighty, were taken from Shtip to the central prison of Uskub : they were maltreated on the road. The calmacan of Shtip had called upon the Bulgarian inhabitants of that town to produce four hundred rifles to be given up to him within ten days. The time allotted having passed, he ordered the arrest of all the young Bulgarians of the town ; some have been set free, after several days' detention, in consideration of having given "baksheesh" ; the others are still in prison.

During the month of June last, detachments of soldiers, gendarmes, and bashi-bazouks marched through the villages looking for arms; they quartered themselves on the inhabitants, plundered the houses, and committed atrocities in a great number of villages, among others that of Metchkuevtzi, where they put several natives to the torture by inserting red-hot irons in their necks and noses. On the 2nd June the authorities arrested and maltreated Milan Milenkoff, of the village of Sopot; while taking him to Shtip, the rural policeman Shaban, of the village of Saint Nicolé, and the tchaoush of the village of Selo, subjected this poor man to the worst of outrages; this was proved by a doctor in presence of the cadi of Shtip, who ordered the arrest of the guilty men; but the latter were set free two days after. As for Milenkoff, he is still in durance at Uskub. At the time of his arrest, his wife, who was five months gone with child, was so misused that she miscarried; her mother complained to His Excellency Hilmi Pasha, and the latter sent her away, saying that "the story was an invention."

On the 2nd June a detachment of two hundred soldiers, commanded by two officers accompanied by the yusbashi (captain) of police, Zekiria Diakovali, and the police-agent, Stofan Denkoff, occupied the village of Niemantzi to look for arms. On the order of their chiefs the soldiers arrested several villagers, whom they took to the house of Pano Constantinoff. There they tied them up, beat them horribly, and shut them up in a stable. The next day they called a meeting of all the inhabitants, and went through the farce of calling upon twenty-nine of them, who happened to have in their possession some old rifles, most of them rusted, left in the country since the time of the Russian occupation: each of these gave up one of these rifles, and the twenty-nine were set at liberty. Thereupon the other villagers were called upon to follow suit and deliver up the arms in their possession; on replying that they had none, they were beaten with horsewhips and clubs for four days on end. The priest of the village, Dimitri Christoff, bound tightly from the feet to the arm-pits, was strapped to a post for two days and finally hung in the prison.

On the 11th June a detachment of soldiers and of bashi-bazouks, under Yusbashi (captain in the regular army) Hussein Effendi, commander of Shtip, instituted a search in the village of Kneja. The soldiers completely stripped the house of Dimé Kostoff, who was away from home on that day. Some days afterwards a squad of ilavés pillaged the same village and misused the inhabitants; the soldiers amused themselves by taking turns at riding on the back of the villager Ilia Anastassoff, and forcing him to run by striking him with horsewhips.

On the 16th June fifteen soldiers arrived at the village of Metchkuevtzi; they installed themselves in the house of an old woman called Kata Sazdova, and, after making her serve them with meat and drink, ordered her to procure for them young women of the village; and the poor woman having fled and taken refuge with her neighbours, the soldiers sacked her house. The ilavés pillaged the villages of Sveti Nicolé, whose mayor, Ghelé Andodoff, and rural policeman, Lazo Davkoff, they arrested and beat, because they had informed the calmacan of Shtip of acts of depre-

dation committed by these soldiers. In the whole caza of Shtip the work of the fields is interrupted.

On the 10th June two well-known brigands, Yussuf of Lakavitza and Demir of Kitchinitza, and some ten Albanians captured seven villagers of Kunovo (nahié of Gostivar) and exacted £T65 of ransom. On the 11th June the same band exacted £T100 from the village of Jelezno-Retchani, threatening to kill thirty inhabitants if the total amount of ransom was not paid. The priest and several notables of this village remained at Gostivar, not daring to risk the journey home.

On the 14th June two agents of Molla Hussein, collector of taxes at Kumanovo, named Ibo and Hussein, entered the house of Donko Ivanoff, of the village of Selo, and violated his eighteen-year-old daughter. The night before, two other agents of the same collector had pillaged the house of Dimitri, a notable of the same village.

All work in the fields is abandoned, to the great loss of the peasants, since they are forced to serve in the gangs employed in constructing the new road from Kumanovo and Palanka to the Bulgarian frontier. Generally, forced labour is three or four days each; the villagers have been working for fifteen days, and the authorities are keeping them until the road is entirely finished. The soldiers and bashi-bazouks plunder the houses, maltreat the inhabitants, violate the women, and commit all sorts of abominations.

On the 26th June a detachment of soldiers and of bashi-bazouks searched the village of Kosten-Dol, and although they found neither arms nor anything implicating the inhabitants, arrested and beat a certain number of villagers; all the villagers went to Shtip in a body and addressed a complaint to Hilmi Pasha. The ilavés frightfully maltreated one Stofan, of the village of Selo. The mudir of Tzarevo-Selo, Hebib Aga, and the officer, Mehemed Aga, accompanied by two tchaoush (sergeants of gendarmerie), having undertaken, in the month of June, a circuit of all the villages, under pretext of looking for arms, a great many of the inhabitants fled to the mountains in order to escape ill-treatment and torture. Several villagers were arrested and hung head downwards: one Kotzé Stoikoff, of the village of Treza, died in consequence of tortures inflicted on him. The same mudir forced the priest of Tzarevo-Selo to annul the sentence of divorce against Fima Velinova, a woman with whom Hebib Aga had a connection.

A detachment of soldiers attacked the village of Vartislavtzi, and, under pretext of looking for "comitadjis" in this village, instituted searches in all the houses. All the inhabitants, men and women, were misused; one Gheorghia Andonova miscarried in consequence of blows received, and died some hours afterwards.

On the 30th June the officer of cavalry Tefik Effendi, at the head of a squad of fifteen ilavés, entered the village of Razlotzi, arrested the priest Petré and the mayor Stofan Runteff, and caused them to be beaten till they lost consciousness. The next day, the same officer horribly maltreated, in the village of Trabotintzi, the priest Athanas, whose life was only saved by the intervention of the mayor of this village, who is a Turk.



On the 28th of April last Lazo Petkoff of Djidimirzi, twenty-eight years old, was assassinated by one Zuber, rural policeman of this village and brother of the famous brigand Kurtish Aga. On the 15th May following the same rural policeman assassinated Lazo Bojinoff of the village of Selo. On the 27th May, near the river which flows past the village of Tchereshovo, there was found, horribly mutilated, the corpse of a young girl of the said village, Stofka Trapkova, eighteen years old. On the 24th June the Albanian Belio, rural policeman of the village of Oreshani, attacked the young girl Toda Tzvetkova and her sister-in-law, meaning to violate them ; and they having repulsed him, he took from them in revenge thirty-five sheep.

#### VILAYET OF ADRIANOPLE

On the 18th April (old style) a detachment of Turkish soldiers arrested a boy of the village of Koëvo, called Athanas Dimoff, and tortured him to make him confess if there were arms hidden in the village ; this poor boy died of his wounds some days afterwards. Eight inhabitants of the same locality were imprisoned ; the others took refuge in Bulgaria. The village was plundered by the Turkish inhabitants of the neighbouring village of Gorno-Kadievo.

The next day, the same detachment of soldiers attacked the village of Raklitza, and arrested, without reason, thirteen of the inhabitants, whom they cruelly tortured. The same detachment went afterwards to the village of Karakotch, and, under pretext of looking for arms, arrested six villagers and committed such acts of violence that the inhabitants fled into Bulgaria. On the 27th April occurred similar excesses on the part of the soldiers and bashi-bazouks in the village of Bolgarsko-Kadievo, where twenty-five inhabitants was arrested and tortured ; one of them died. At the same date the Turkish inhabitants of the village of Erekléri searched the houses of their Bulgarian fellow-citizens, who, already terrified by the tortures suffered by the inhabitants of neighbouring villages, for the most part abandoned their homes. Two days afterwards, a detachment of soldiers entered the village and maltreated the few remaining Bulgarians ; the latter being obliged to pay "baksheesh" to the soldiers amounting to £T40.

On the 29th April, under pretext of looking for arms, the chief of gendarmes of the sandjak of Kirk-klissé, at the head of a detachment of regulars, entered the village of Pirok. At his approach nearly all the inhabitants fled to the mountains ; the old men, who had not succeeded in escaping, as well as the priest of the village and his wife, were arrested and tortured ; village and church were plundered by the soldiers. On the 2nd and 3rd May the villages of Terzi-Deré and Gorna-Kanara were attacked by the Turkish soldiers ; a villager from the former place and several from the latter were arrested and beaten ; the other inhabitants fled and their property was plundered.

About the same time the Turkish inhabitants of the village of Kesherlik

deceived their Bulgarian fellow-citizens by advising them to leave the village for several days until this tempest of persecution should blow over. Three days afterwards a certain number of Bulgarians, venturing back to their homes, were at once arrested and frightfully tortured by the soldiers and by the Turks for the crime of leaving the village. Thirty-six of these villagers were conducted under escort to Kirk-kissé to be imprisoned ; several of these unfortunates were beaten until unconscious and the soldiers had to carry them forward in waggons. On the 8th May a detachment of soldiers broke into the village of Derekeuy and, still under pretext of looking for arms, plundered all the houses. The church was pillaged and desecrated by the soldiers. The inhabitants of this rich Bulgarian village fled, only the old men and a few women remaining. Some days afterwards the same detachment of soldiers arrested the priest and ten inhabitants of the village of Kovtchaz ; the other villagers fled into Bulgaria ; two of the prisoners were set at liberty for a ransom of £T55.

On the 15th May four gendarmes, at the head of from thirty to thirty-five bashi-bazouks of Mandritza, entered the Bulgarian village of Kolibité to look for arms. Having found none, they plundered the houses, arrested the mayor and ten villagers, whom they took to Mandritza and there horribly tortured ; Dimitri Kassapina died in consequence of this ill-treatment. On the 18th May a detachment of Turkish soldiers attacked the village of Kuyun-Déré, arrested forty villagers and, after having taken them outside the village, subjected them to frightful tortures ; then the soldiers forced them to buy three rifles for £T55, and to give them up as rifles found in the village ; leaving them, at last, free for a ransom of £T80.

On the 20th May the same detachment, augmented by some bashi-bazouks, surrounded during the night the village of Enidjé, and next day soldiers and bashi-bazouks took to shooting every one they met in the streets or at the entry of the village. Some forty villagers were killed ; the women removed eighteen corpses from the street ; some days afterwards the Russian subject Sakelarides, of Kirk-kissé, found sixteen other corpses buried in the sand of the river which traverses the village. One hundred and twenty men took refuge in Bulgaria ; seventy Bulgarians were arrested in the act of fleeing, and ten of them were so brutally beaten that they could not stand and had to be transported in waggons to Kirk-kissé, where they were thrown into prison.

In the night of the 30th to the 31st May some soldiers and bashi-bazouks, joined by several Greeks, attacked the village of Yana and arrested the notables, who were maltreated. On the 3rd June the same soldiers and bashi-bazouks attacked the village of Bunar-Hissar ; they killed the priest, St. Ivanoff, after having tortured him. The villagers fled, leaving their property to be plundered by the Turkish inhabitants of neighbouring villages.

On the 3rd June another detachment of soldiers searched the houses of the village of Kodja-Tarla. All the men of this village having fled to the mountain, the soldiers warned the women that they would be arrested and roughly used if their husbands did not come home within three days. On

the 7th June, the villagers having come back, fourteen of them were beaten and the women suffered violence. The greater number of the inhabitants of this village again took to flight, and are now on Bulgarian soil. The priest, D. Zagoroff, was mercilessly beaten and, while bringing him by carriage to Indjekeuy, the other Turkish soldiers threw him half-dead into the fields. One of the prisoners, Gheorghi Karapetkoff, had his hands crushed. Eighty-six villagers who were working in the fields on that day took refuge in Bulgaria. The convent of St. Constantine, situated near the village, was plundered and defiled by the soldiers and bashi-bazouks. At the same date the soldiers and bashi-bazouks attacked the Bulgarian village of Tchungara, and arrested without motive all the inhabitants; one shepherd alone managing to escape and take refuge in Bulgaria. On the 18th June search was made in some twenty Bulgarian houses at Mustapha-Pasha; twelve Bulgarian notables were arrested and taken to Adrianople, where they are imprisoned. Searches were made in the villages of Levka and Dervishka-Moghila and the little market town of Tchirmen: thirty-four Bulgarians were arrested. Many of the inhabitants of these localities fled to the mountains or took refuge in Bulgaria.

#### WHOLESALE MASSACRES—DESTRUCTION OF VILLAGES—EMIGRATION

Wholesale massacres were committed by the soldiers of the regular army and the bashi-bazouks in the Vardar-Kapu quarter at Salonica, in the villages of Baldevo (caza of Nevrocop), Banitza (caza of Serres), Tchurilovo (caza of Petritch), Karbintzi (caza of Shtip), Moghila (caza of Monastir), Smardesh (caza of Kostur), and Enidjé (caza of Kirk-kliissé). The scenes of carnage, plundering, and destruction by fire were terrifying. At Smardesh there were more than two hundred persons shot, put to the sword, or burned; more than two hundred and fifty houses, as well as the church and the school, burned by petroleum poured on them for this purpose; the pillaged property was sold by the soldiers and bashi-bazouks at Kostur, under the eyes and with the knowledge of the local authorities: the live-stock was distributed among the Mussulmans of neighbouring villages. The same scenes of destruction and plunder occurred in the villages of Gorna-Ribnitza, Igumenetz, Dobri-Laki, and Nikodim (caza of Petritch).

The terrified villagers, abandoning their property and their crops, are fleeing into the mountains. A great number of those who dwell in the cazas bordering on Bulgaria are taking refuge in that country. Thus the number of Bulgarians of the sandjak of Serres who have taken refuge in the districts of Kustendil and Philippopolis is about three thousand—men, women, and children. The number of Bulgarians of the sandjak of Kirk-kliissé who have taken refuge up to the 1st July is 1,107 men, 848 women, and 1,203 children, altogether 3,158 who have taken refuge in the districts of Kizil-Aghatch and of Burgas.

## IMPRISONMENT AND DEPORTATION

It is impossible to ascertain the exact total of Bulgarians at present detained in the prisons of the vilayets of Salonica, Uskub, Monastir, and Adrianople. Every day new prisoners are added on the most trumped-up suspicion or the slightest accusation. If some are set at liberty, others are incarcerated; or else the prisoners are taken from one place to another for want of room. According to the information received by the Prince's Government, here is the approximate number of Bulgarians imprisoned in the vilayets in consequence of the outrages in Salonica:

I. *Vilayet of Salonica*

Central prison of the vilayet . . . . .	400	
Prisons of the cazas . . . . .	500	
		— 900

II. *Vilayet of Uskub (Scopie)*

Central prison of the vilayet . . . . .	500	
Prisons of the cazas . . . . .	?	
		— 500

III. *Vilayet of Monastir (Bitolia)*

Central prison of the vilayet . . . . .	625	
Prisons of the cazas . . . . .	225	
		— 850

IV. *Vilayet of Adrianople*

Central prison of the vilayet . . . . .	230	
Prisons of the cazas . . . . .	320	
		— 550

Total . . . . .		— 2,800
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During the last two months, from the end of April to the end of June (old style) 1903, the Ottoman authorities have therefore arrested 2,800 Bulgarians independently of those who are imprisoned in the cazas of the vilayet of Uskub, and about whom we have no information. Information is also lacking from a considerable number of localities of the said vilayets, and, as arrests have been made in almost all the villages, it may be affirmed, without exaggeration, that the number of imprisoned Bulgarians is double or even treble the official total given above. The greater number of the prisoners are ignorant why they have been arrested; they have been detained for several months without yet having been examined by the magistrates. From the central prison of Salonica the authorities have only set at liberty thirty-two prisoners. From the central prison of Adrianople eighty-one Bulgarian prisoners, among whom are four priests, have been transported to Asia Minor without receiving a sentence justifying that measure.

CONFINEMENT TO PLACES OF BIRTH—CLOSING OF CHURCHES AND  
SCHOOLS—PROPAGANDA OF THE GREEK PATRIARCHATE

The Bulgarian merchants and artisans established at Constantinople and Salonica have been ordered to return to their native towns in order to be interned there. They have not been granted any time to arrange their affairs and safeguard their interests. Among them are several who have been settled in those two towns for the last twenty years and possess estates there; for them this iniquitous measure of relegation to their places of birth, where they have long had neither interests nor connections nor relations, means ruin and want for themselves and their families. A similar edict has been issued with regard to teachers in the high schools and primary schoolmasters, with the consequence that all the Bulgarian schools have been closed before the end of the school year.

The authorities rigorously apply the same measure against the priests who are presidents of the Bulgarian religious communities. Others are imprisoned. This confinement in the case of the priests and schoolmasters is meant, contrary to the laws in force and to the privileges of the Exarchate, to paralyse the development of the Bulgarian work either in religion or education, and to force the Bulgarian population to pass under the authority of the Greek Patriarchate. As it is to the presidents of the communities that permission to open the schools is given, and as these presidents are either in prison or relegated to their native districts, the Bulgarian population remains without legal representatives before the Turkish authorities, and open to every propaganda.

The mudir of Goremé (caza of Petritch) lately assembled the Bulgarian notables of that village, and exhorted them to renounce the Exarchate and to recognise the Patriarchate, saying that "the exarchist Bulgarians are the enemies of the empire," and that, if they wished to avoid persecution, they must obey his injunction.

Encouraged and seconded by the Ottoman authorities, the Greek bishops and archimandrites overrun the country, force their way into the Bulgarian churches, trample on or burn the Slav books, use promises and threats to force the Bulgarian population to recognise the Patriarchate. The Greek Archimandrite of Salonica, preaching to the inhabitants of Gradobor, Negovan, Zarovo, Novo-Selo, etc., used language to the effect that "the Sultan no longer wished to have exarchist Bulgarians in his empire, and that if any remained they would be exterminated." These sermons were delivered in the presence of the Ottoman functionaries.

Similar acts of propaganda have taken place lately in the villages of Tashly-Muslim and Ortakeuy (caza of Adrianople). The Ottoman authorities obliged sixteen Bulgarian families of the former village to sign a declaration that they had gone over to the Patriarchate; the Greek bishop went to Tashly-Muslim and officiated in the Bulgarian church, in spite of the protests of the great majority of Bulgarian families, who refuse to abandon the Exarchate. The same bishop caused the notables of neighbouring Bulgarian villages to be forcibly brought to Ortakeuy by

gendarmes, and told them in his sermon that "if they did not wish to be exposed to the persecution of the Imperial Government, they must recognise the Patriarchate."

#### ECONOMIC RUIN OF MERCHANTS, ARTISANS, AND WORKMEN

Besides the decrees of internment, another measure must be cited which is bringing about the economic ruin of the Bulgarian merchants, artisans, and workmen. Conformably to instructions from Constantinople, the vali (governor-general) of Monastir transmitted on the 23rd April last, to all the authorities of the vilayet, an order in the following terms: "Bulgarians are forbidden to go abroad and, above all, to Constantinople." Since that date no permits have been issued to Bulgarians, who, in the old days, used to go to Constantinople by thousands in the interests of their business. That order has even been so interpreted that Bulgarians are forbidden to go to the great commercial centres, such as Salonica, to make the necessary purchases or look after their business; thus they are obliged to have recourse to Turkish traders, who, little by little, ruin or supplant them.

#### SALE OF PROPERTY—COLLECTION OF TAXES—ECONOMIC RUIN OF BULGARIAN FAMILIES IN THE VILLAGES

The provincial administration uses all possible means to instal Mussulmans in the Bulgarian villages, and to help them to monopolise gradually the lands belonging to the Bulgarians. Under the most trifling pretexts Bulgarian properties are seized and sold dirt cheap to Turkish buyers. Liable as they are to be taxed and forced to labour in the roads, the Bulgarian population works for the feudal beys, the possessors of immense farms (tchifliks). In the vilayet of Salonica, out of 899 villages peopled by Bulgarians, 345 are farms entirely, and 83 partly, run by Bulgarian labour; in the vilayet of Monastir, out of 811 villages there are 170 of these entirely Bulgarian farms, and 106 mixed ones; in the vilayet of Uskub, out of 766 villages there are 201 pure Bulgarian farms to 94 mixed.

That condition of servitude of the Bulgarians explains their wretchedness, and is one of the principal causes of the discontent of the population of these countries. If to this is added the fiscal exactions—the collection of taxes for several years in advance, the required prepayment of the tax for exemption from military service for ten, fifteen, twenty years, etc.—it is not astonishing that, beholding the gradual but sure consummation of its ruin, that unfortunate people revolts against a rule so arbitrary and tyrannical.

The facts which have just been set forth condemn once more the Ottoman Government. Not long ago, the Sublime Porte endeavoured to denounce the revolutionary attempts in Turkey as being fomented by Bulgaria, and to throw the responsibility for them on the Prince's Government. To-day it must recognise that its maladministration of these provinces is the sole and only cause of their disturbances. Yet it ought to

have learnt from those sad experiences of the past the lesson that it is not by systematic persecution and bloody repression that its rulers will bring the reign of order and peace into its country.

The Sublime Porte had accepted in principle a project of reforms which it has not carried into effect, declaring that this project was insufficient. In the last place, after the note of the 16th June of the Prince's Minister for Foreign Affairs, it formally promised the Bulgarian Government to withdraw the measures of arrest and internment relative to priests and schoolmasters, to order the reopening of churches and schools, to set at liberty the innocent Bulgarians languishing by thousands in its prisons, to punish the agents in authority who have been guilty of extortion, abuse of power and outrages—in a word, to do a work of justice and pacification: it has kept none of its promises.

What has come of all this? Tired of waiting for the realisation of the promises of a better fate, and taking counsel only of its despair, the Bulgarian population of European Turkey has entered upon the path of revolution: an insurrectionary movement has just broken out in the vilayet of Monastir, in an Ottoman province situated at 160 miles from the frontiers of the Principality of Bulgaria. The causes of that revolution are to-day known, and the responsibility henceforth established: the Sublime Porte can no longer blame it on the Principality.

SOFIA, 28 July (10 August), 1903.

The events enumerated in the second part of this volume, which took place in 1905 and 1906 (since the application of the reforms, that is), prove that the situation is the same in Macedonia as it was on the day the memorandum of the Bulgarian Government was drawn up. If that situation has changed at all, it has changed for the worse.

## CHAPTER III

### THE MACEDONIAN PEASANT

**I**N studying the causes of the insurrection, we have only spoken up till now of the tyranny exercised by the Ottoman administration over the Bulgarian intellectuals. The conditions of life of the peasant are a still more important factor, and must be minutely examined. If there is a region where the Turk's hand lies heavier than in another, where oppression is becoming a positive physical evil, enfeebling and crushing the social organism, it is certainly in the economic life of the Christian villages. The economic servitude of the Christians as a conquered race is an axiom to the Turkish mind. All administrative effort tends to make the population feel the weight of this servitude, and all the officers of the government, from the highest functionaries to the humblest rural policeman, work towards it. The means vary; the result is the same: impoverishment. And this is no separate aspect of the Turkish political organisation; it is a regular system, skilfully planned, and still more skilfully carried out, to which all the functions of the government and of the communes are subservient. The deterioration which has penetrated all classes of the administration, and continued through many generations, without teaching a useful lesson, is not an accidental circumstance, but a system consciously persisted in to the end that Turkish fanaticism and cruelty, the sole supports of a universally detested rule, may be kept up. And this fact may explain the political paradox which affirms that "the power of Turkey resides in her powerlessness."

The economic state of the population of the Christian villages of Macedonia is the darkest page of the Turkish



political organisation which condemns to hopeless lives, to black wretchedness, the most productive people in the country. The excessive labour of the cultivator is far from assuring him the most modest subsistence. The efforts of several generations, the toil shared by all members, big and little, of the family, procure nothing but a shelter, exposed to every act of violence and spoliation. And this miserable shelter is the home of famine and discouragement.

This state of matters arises from two circumstances :

1. From the absence of public departments adequate to the situation, and capable of restraining crying abuses.
2. From the relations of the dominant Mussulman with the unfortunate serf.

The principal resource of the Christian population is agriculture, cattle-breeding being rare as an exclusive means of subsistence, except in the regions of Prizrend and Guiliani (vilayet of Kossovo), and in those of Florina and Kastoria (vilayet of Monastir).

In the eyes of the law, the cultivators are :

1. Landowners.
2. Tchiftchis (farmers sharing in the produce).
3. Labourers or farm-servants.

The first, the masters of the tchiftchis, are the Mussulman beys, the second are the Christian villagers. There are also some Christian proprietors, but they only hold small estates, not exceeding 200 dulum.<sup>1</sup> Estates above this figure are for the most part in the hands of the beys. Small estates predominate in the mountainous regions, large estates in the plain. Large landowners who are also Christians are very exceptional, and are represented by Greeks who possess vast domains in the cazas of Serres, Drama, and Salonica.

The price of land varies greatly. A rough estimate may be given in the following manner :

(a) Lands suitable for rice-growing (regions of Kotchani, Kratovo, etc.), from £T15 to £T20<sup>2</sup> the dulum.

<sup>1</sup> Unit of area equivalent to 1,435 square yards.

<sup>2</sup> The pound Turkish is worth about 23 francs.

(b) Lands suitable for other crops, from £T $\frac{1}{2}$  to £T $\frac{3}{4}$ .

(c) Meadow-land, from £T $\frac{3}{4}$  to £T6.

In the neighbourhoods where the population is densest, as at Kalkandelen (Tetovo), where the Christians of the mountain villages, being exposed to the successive attacks of Albanian bands, have descended into the plain, the price of land has considerably increased.

The culture of the dulum costs the proprietor—

A. For the rice-plantations per dulum :

1. Ploughing (twice) . . . . .	10 piastres. <sup>1</sup>
2. Sowing . . . . .	9 "
3. Harvesting . . . . .	10 "
4. Cartage of the crop . . . . .	15 "
5. Thrashing . . . . .	24 "
6. Tithe . . . . .	30 "
Total . . . . .	<u>98</u> piastres.

A dulum of rice-plantations yields 240 okes of rice, which would be worth, at 30 paras (15 centimes) the oke, 180 piastres. The difference between selling price and the expenses of cultivation (98 piastres) is the net profit on a capital of from 1,500 to 2,000 piastres, the price of the rice-plantation and the 98 piastres advanced for the farming.

B. Other crops—corn, rye, etc. :

1. Ploughing (twice) . . . . .	10 piastres.
2. Sowing . . . . .	9 "
3. Harvesting . . . . .	10 "
4. Cartage . . . . .	7 $\frac{1}{2}$ "
5. Thrashing . . . . .	12 "
6. Tithe . . . . .	15 "
Total of expenses . . . . .	<u>63<math>\frac{1}{2}</math></u> piastres.

A dulum of corn yields on an average 120 okes of corn at 30 paras the oke—that is, a revenue of 90 piastres. The difference, 26 $\frac{1}{2}$  piastres, is therefore the net profit on a capital of 63 $\frac{1}{2}$  piastres (the sum advanced for the expenses) and the price of the land.

<sup>1</sup> The Turkish piastre is worth about 23 centimes.

That method does not satisfy the proprietor : the profit realised is insufficient. Only the small Christian proprietors have recourse to it, when they cannot themselves cultivate pieces of land. The larger proprietors—the beys who are the masters of the tchifliks—have recourse to “tchiftchilyk,” that is, metayage, or leasing land on the half-profit system, which is in operation over three-fourths of all the arable lands.

This leasing at half profits is one of the principal causes of the frightful wretchedness of the Christian population of the villages, for it makes room for a permanent tyranny and for abuses on the part of the bey, whom none can reach.

Theoretically, the farming-out is thus arranged : the bey, the landlord, gives the land, which he divides into lots, according to the number of the families in the tchiflik (a family farms from 60 to 100 dulums, according to the number of its members). The bey lends, further, the seeds, and gives free dwellings. The profits, after deducting the tithe, are divided in equal parts between the landlord and the labourer. This division may bring the landlord a profit varying from 18 to 25 per cent. of the capital. But he is not usually contented with this, and as absolute master of the fate of his Christian metayer, whose work he exploits according to his good pleasure, succeeds in wresting from him the better part of his earnings.

Arbitrariness and injustice are frequent on the part of the beys. In several regions the beys have obliged the cultivator to pay the tithe on the entire produce.

The metayer is obliged :

(a) To convey the bey's share to wherever the latter wills. Very often the bey sells his harvest at a distance of from 50 to 60 miles from the village ; the cultivator must deliver it at its destination. It should be remarked that the live-stock and all implements belong to the metayer, who pays the up-keep.

(b) Each metayer must deliver to his bey four cartloads of firewood a year.

(c) The metayer is bound to work for ten days a year in the bey's own fields, if the latter has fields in addition to those he leases, or possesses fields in another village.

(d) If the bey owns a mill, which is often the case, the maintenance as well as all the work in connection with the conveyance of water falls on the metayers, in return for the right to grind all the grain used by themselves.

(e) The rural policeman, with whose aid the bey terrorises the villages when he wishes to impose on them some unexpected burdens, is almost always paid solely by the metayer.

These obligations, as well as many more of a similar nature, varying according to the circumstances and caprices of the bey, put all the production at the mercy of the bey. Thanks to this, in several tchifliks the villagers, although very limited in their meagre needs, have contracted debts with their beys which reduce them almost to slavery.

The situation of labourers at yearly wages is still more wretched than that of the metayers. The labourers, or, as they are called, "farm-boys," are almost always married and fathers of large families. This is the class which is in the worst economic state. They are pariahs; they have neither shelter nor dwelling nor anything which can assure them the existence of human beings and not of beasts. They stand for eternal want, and take it with them wherever their evil fate leads them. They cannot become metayers, because they possess no live-stock, and consequently they reap no benefit of their toil. They receive fixed annual wages, amounting to from 80 to 100 kilés of grain (corn, rye, and maize mixed), 100 to 120 piastres of money, from 5 to 8 pints of petroleum, 10 okes of haricots. These wages are the recompense of the work of the father of the family, helped by his wife and all his children under age, whose work is never remunerated. This represents the whole income of the family, when the bey sticks to his word. But the farm-boy is often dismissed before the end of the year without obtaining the wages due to him. He must then take to wandering with his whole family, and live on charity until he finds another place, of as little comfort and security as the first.

The farm servants employed by the Christian proprietors are better situated. They make from 500 to 600 piastres.

They are fed and are found in boots and shoes. But the number of the Christian landowners who require outside help in the work is very small ; and very few of those who labour for hire have the luck to fall in with a good place. The Christian proprietors are principally Bulgarians. As we have said above, they hold small estates, rarely exceeding 200 *dulums*. They generally cultivate their land themselves, and might enjoy a certain comfort if the taxes were more equitably distributed and more honestly collected ; if, moreover, the prevailing insecurity did not expose the lives and property of Christians to continual risk. To give an idea of the economic situation of the Bulgarian landowners or *rayas*, as they are otherwise called, here are some facts about sundry Christian villages varying in conditions and circumstances.

The village of Mavrova, for example, *caza* of Kalkandelen (Tetovo), vilayet of Kossovo, is mountainous ; it has a hundred and forty houses ; the land, which is not very good, is divided among these houses, at an average of 25 *dulums* per house. It pays regular taxes of £T530, of which £T185 is tithes, making consequently £T4 per house when the average land owned is from 25 *dulums*, which, during a good year, may yield from 300 to 350 *kilés* of corn. Besides the regular taxes, the villagers pay tribute to seven Albanians, so as to be exempt from their attacks. Each of these Albanians collects from £T6 to £T20 a year. To this must be added the abuses which arise during the collection of taxes. Thus, in this village, which owns much meadow-land, the tithe on hay is not taken in kind, but in money at the following rates : the tithe-collector takes 1 oke of hay in every  $7\frac{3}{4}$  okes<sup>1</sup> (instead of 1 in  $8\frac{1}{3}$ ), and he appraises that oke at 20 paras, although the price of hay is from 6 to 7 paras in the market—that is to say, the tithe-collector takes 20 paras for every  $7\frac{3}{4}$  okes of hay which cost from 46 to 50 paras in the market, thus bringing the tithe up to 40 per cent. of the value of the crop.

The village of Novo-Selo, *caza* of Ishtib (northern part of

<sup>1</sup> The oke is equal to about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  lbs.

the vilayet of Kossovo), lies in a plain; it has ten houses with 300 dulums of land belonging to the villagers, and 400 dulums to a bey. The whole fortune of the village consists in :

350 goats and sheep.  
8 horses.  
1 mule.  
24 oxen.  
35 cows.  
15 pigs.

In addition there is a small forest, a fourth of which belongs to the bey.

The tithe of this village was sold, last year, for £T53 to the bey, who exacted one sheaf of corn out of every seven. If we add to that tax the others of which we will speak later on, we shall find that each house pays from £T7 to £T8 in direct taxes for an average property of 30 dulums per house. Naturally the payments are only forthcoming by means of loans contracted from the beys or from the country banks in return for mortgages on the land. These loans are rarely redeemed at the time-limit, and the fields are sold for a song. The purchasers are always Mussulmans. Thus several Christian villages, which were in a flourishing condition quite lately, are to-day reduced to the state of tchifliks, and their inhabitants have fallen from owners to metayers.

In 1904 a Turkish society was founded at Kumanovo to dispossess the Christian proprietors. Several rich beys and the functionaries of the agricultural bank were members of this society. The functionaries of the bank illegally sold several landed estates belonging to Christians and mortgaged to the bank. Traico Stolanoff, Dimitri Christeff, and Spas Ilieff, of the village of Mlado Nagoritchino, caza of Kumanovo, saw the following properties sold before the expiry of the mortgages : The first, 50 dulums of fields for a debt of £T12½ ; the second, 60 dulums for a debt of £T20, and the third, 40 dulums for a debt of £T6 ; whereas each dulum is worth at least £T1. The purchasers of these lands are Turks who have received the title-deeds after having paid

off the mortgages. The Russian and Austrian consuls were acquainted with this circumstance.

But for a better illustration of the economic situation of the Macedonian villager, let us take the smallest unit, the family of moderate means.

Apostol Gheorghieff, of the village of Lescovetz, is father of a family of six persons, possessing—

- 1 house, value from £T10 to £T12.
- 16 dulumbs of land.
- 2 oxen and a cart.
- 2 asses.
- 15 goats.
- 1 vineyard of 2 dulumbs.

Apostol pays for his property :

300 piastres in tithes.

- 60 " of haratch (exemption from military service).
- 60 " " for his brother who has completed his 15th year.
- 60 " of vergbi.
- 40 " for the rural policeman.
- 16 " for the roads, although he does eight days' work on them.
- 5 " per head of live-stock (4 piastres 30 paras of taxes *plus* 2 paras extra).

We are not counting the new taxes, of which we shall speak later.

In comparison with his neighbours, Apostol Gheorghieff may be reckoned a man of easy circumstances, and yet in spite of his simple wants, he owes a debt of £T22, contracted on several occasions in order that he might pay a part of his taxes.

The estimates which we have given above represent the taxes paid by a family of moderate means when there is no abuse in the collection, and when Christian property is not exposed to pillage. Unfortunately security is always absent. To complete the picture of the life of the Macedonian peasant, we give the inventory of the goods of a metayer as well as his annual budget. These particulars, which we owe to the kindness of a consul of one of the Powers at Uskub who has made a thorough study of the

situation in Macedonia, have been obtained on the spot, and carefully verified. They concern metayers representing the third and fourth generations of a family which for more than a hundred years has been established in the well-known tchiflik of "Bardovtzi," near Uskub, and has cultivated the same fields all that time. It should be remarked that the beys who possess this tchiflik have the reputation of being the best masters in the caza.

This is the contract of the metayer :

Name : Blajo.

Nationality : Bulgarian.

Number of the members of the family registered in the contract :  
Sixteen.

The head of the family, Blajo . . . . .	50 years old
His wife, Doltza . . . . .	48 " "
A son, Christo, married . . . . .	25 " "
His wife, Stephana . . . . .	25 " "
Their son, Mitré . . . . .	1 year "
A second son of the head of the family, Anghel, married . . . . .	22 years "
His wife, Bira . . . . .	20 " "
Their son, Constantin . . . . .	1 year "
A third son of the head of the family, Chrysté . . . . .	10 years "
A daughter, Helena . . . . .	8 " "
A nephew of the head of the family, Vassil, married . . . . .	30 " "
His wife, Sirma . . . . .	28 " "
Their son, Spasso . . . . .	10 " "
Their son, Petré . . . . .	1 year "
A daughter, Stofna . . . . .	8 years "
A daughter, Draga . . . . .	1 year "

The contract says that the chief of the family and all the family are obliged to work for the bey.

The metayer does not own any landed estate, the very house in which several generations have lived belonging to the bey.

The metayer is obliged to work one day a week with his whole family in the bey's private fields, to plough, reap, dig, carry wood, and convey the bey's produce to the town or place where it is sold. In order that the work of the leased fields may not suffer, the metayer and his family devote Sunday to the profits of the bey.



The metayer keeps the following live-stock, which are his own property :

4 oxen . . . . .	200 francs
1 cow . . . . .	25 "
2 asses . . . . .	45 "
1 horse . . . . .	69 "
1 sheep-dog . . . . .	69 "
1 watch-dog . . . . .	69 "
20 sheep . . . . .	275 "
10 hens . . . . .	275 "
1 pig, which he buys every year, fattens, and kills at Christmas for his own eating . . . . .	275 "

#### *Farming appliances*

A cart, two ploughs, several spades, five or six pitchforks, as many scythes, harness for the draught animals.

#### *Other implements*

Axes, hammers, saws, etc., a weaving-loom, etc., and the furniture belong to the metayer and are paid for by him exclusively.

Seventy-eight days' work are necessary for the repairs of the house and its dependencies, and for providing firewood.

The women work in the fields, do all the house-work, and weave and mend the clothes.

The average annual expenditure is :

#### *For food*

Flour for the family and the dogs, 7,500 okes.

Meat bought at from 2 to 3 piastres the oke, 52 okes.

Rice bought at Uskub at  $2\frac{1}{2}$  piastres the oke, 50 okes.

Fish is caught by the peasant.

Vegetables : onions, garlic, cabbages, haricots, which come from a little kitchen-garden near the house.

Eggs from the poultry-house, of which the metayer sells from 400 to 500 at Uskub at 8 to 10 paras each.

Milk and butter from the cow and sheep.

Fruit from a few trees in the garden.

Olive-oil, 13 okes at  $7\frac{1}{2}$  piastres.

Wine, 300 to 400 okes at  $1\frac{1}{2}$  piastres.

Brandy, 20 to 30 okes at 4 piastres.

Sugar, 10 okes at  $2\frac{1}{2}$  piastres.

Salt, 120 okes at 1 piastre.

The pepper used by the metayer comes from the capsicums in his garden, which are dried and ground.

*For dress*

Cotton yarn, 10 okes at 15 piastres.

Wool from the sheep and the skins of still-born lambs.

For moccasins, 200 piastres.

For clothes made of skins, 100 piastres.

For sundry ornaments and haberdashery, 35 to 60 piastres.

For linen other than that made at home, 50 to 60 piastres.

*For lighting*

Petroleum, 4 cans at the price of 80 piastres.

Firewood: the metayer gathers it every week in the forest, making fifty-two days in the year, and pays a duty of 250 piastres.

*Other expenses for the year*

To the priest, 10 piastres.

Marriages in the family, 20 piastres.

Burials, 20 piastres.

Births, 5 piastres.

Expenses occasioned by the celebrations at Christmas and Easter, 40 to 50 piastres.

*Food for the live-stock*

Barley, oats, straw from the harvest.

Hay from the bey's meadows.

Shoeing of the horses at the cost of the metayer.

Seeds are lent by the bey, who recovers the full amount from the harvest.

*Taxes*

Tithe,  $12\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. originally.

Tithe on the fruit-trees at the will of the collector.

Right of exemption from military service, 60 to 70 piastres for each male of the family.

Beglik (duty on the live-stock), 5 piastres each beast.

For the mayor, 15 piastres.

For the rural policeman, 10 piastres.

For the up-keep of the roads, eight days' work according to law, but in reality from twelve to sixteen days for each person more than fourteen years old.

There is no mention here of the exceptional taxes collected by the Government to cover military expenses, or of fresh taxes on cattle and the poll tax (*chakhsi-verghissi*). Neither are included the sums exacted by the Albanian chiefs, nor the money the peasant must expend in bribing different functionaries.

The house which serves as dwelling-place to the villager is built of sun-dried bricks, with a roof covered with tiles, and resting on a foundation of wood  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet from the ground. The walls are of earth mingled with straw. For sleeping purposes the villagers crowd together by fours and fives into one room of an area of 3 feet by 4; and for covering they have often nothing but straw matting. The house includes an entry, a cellar for provisions, a corridor. The whole building forms a quadrilateral in a court 130 feet broad by 330 feet long. There are, besides, in this court, a little oven for the bread and two store-houses. There is a kitchen-garden near the house, which, besides vegetables, contains some fruit-trees.

The average share of the metayer consists of :

Corn . . . . .	150 chiniks
Barley . . . . .	80 "
Oats . . . . .	80 "
Rye . . . . .	50 "
Maize . . . . .	50 "
Buck-wheat . . . . .	100 "

And besides, there is straw after the harvest and the hay from the meadows of the bey.

The preceding statistics, representing the results of the unceasing labour of a family of sixteen members, speak eloquently of the economic life of the population of the Christian villages. It must not be forgotten that they stand for the result of a century's labour on the same land by one Christian family, a family on the best of terms, as we have said, with its landlord, the bey.

Sometimes the landowners make a formal contract with their metayers. In this contract the bey, in order to make sure of the metayer's obedience, mentions particularly a sum of money and a certain quantity of seeds as being due to him by the Christian, who has never received them. The bey thereby has a hold on the metayer, who must thenceforth satisfy all his demands. As for the obligations of the bey, the carrying-out of them depends entirely on his own goodwill.

Here is a specimen of a contract between a bey and his metayer:

### CONTRACT

The present agreement, whose terms are given below, has been concluded between Athanas Tzvetcoff, on the one hand, and Gani Bey, on the other, the latter being manager of the farm of Novo-Selo, belonging to the Beys Rechid and Kiazim, sons of the late Akif Pasha. The above-mentioned beys lease,<sup>1</sup> conformably to the books in possession of Gani Bey, one hundred and twenty dulum of arable land to Athanas in metayage and on the following conditions: From Mitrof-den<sup>2</sup> 1319<sup>3</sup> Athanas has the right to cultivate the land and to get on with the work and changes necessary on the farm. The present agreement holds good only for one year, at the expiration of which the beys reserve the right either to dismiss<sup>4</sup> the metayer and call in another, or to keep him for another year, but on new conditions.

On his side, the metayer himself has the right, at the expiration of the term agreed on, to leave the farm. During the whole year of lease, the above-mentioned Athanas has the right to live in the beys' house, this house being the one set apart by the beys for the metayers.

The corn necessary for seed will be given him by Gani bey, representing the above-mentioned beys.<sup>5</sup> For the other years, whatever corn is necessary for sowing must be taken from the produce of the farm itself, putting aside the portion demanded by the tithe and the portion due to the guardian of the farm. Half of the corn—that is to say, the share of the beys—must be lodged in their granaries or delivered directly to them at Uskub, in their houses.

In exchange for this, the metayer will have to pay neither the *verghi*<sup>6</sup> for the house nor the land tax. The beys are exclusively responsible for these taxes. Besides the house lent to the metayer and his men, the former is given another piece of ground on which to sow hemp, *bostan* (melons, water-melons, and pumpkins), onions—in short, some ground and the things called "paraspour," all of which will belong exclusively to the metayer.

On his side, the latter is obliged to send one of his labourers one day a week to work on the land cultivated by the beys which is not under lease.

To the above condition must be added the following:

At the time of cancelling the contract, Athanas is expected to pay

<sup>1</sup> Or literally "give."

<sup>2</sup> Christian festival (of St. Demetrius) celebrated on the 26th October (8th November).

<sup>3</sup> Turkish era.

<sup>4</sup> Literally "drive out."

<sup>5</sup> This corn is deducted by the bey from the crop before it is divided between him and the metayer.

<sup>6</sup> Tax on personal property.

the sum of 805 piastres, given him without interest four years ago, when he was metayer at Zlokukiani; which sum has been employed in buying animals and other necessities of the farm. He must also repay the 130 chiniks of wheat, rye, and barley given to him at the same time.

On strength whereof we reciprocally enter into the present agreement.

We, the undersigned, put our seals to the present contract as being made with the assent and knowledge of the two parties.

Follow the usual legal formalities: Kossovo Vilayetiser-Taksildari (the collector-general of the vilayet of Kossovo).

*Signed:* CALCANDELELI NOUSAM EFFENDI,

Son of HADJI OSMAN.

Follow the signatures of the bey and the metayer.

Excessive taxes, the want of public security, and the monstrous wrongs inflicted on the villagers, thanks to the system of standing taxes, have caused the economic ruin of the Macedonian villager, his servitude, and his despair. Unfortunately the line of reform taken by the Powers has so far been unsuccessful in producing any amelioration in this important department. It is true that efforts have been made to replace the system of taxes in force by another—to substitute for the tithe, for instance, a fixed tax—but these attempts, made without heed to the economic conditions, have not realised the necessary ameliorations.

Two projects have been elaborated, one by the Sublime Porte, the other by Hilmi Pasha. There is very little difference between them. The project of Hilmi Pasha was presented to the Porte before the acceptance of the programme of Muerzsteg. Subsequently, when the civil agents were installed, the project of Hilmi Pasha was discussed between them and Hilmi Pasha, and a new system of taxes was elaborated on the following basis: The existing tithe is replaced by a fixed tax, whose amount is determined for each village or town separately on the average yield of the tithe for a period of five consecutive years. So fixed, the tax will be shared by the villagers among themselves. Complaints against the iniquitous distribution of the tax were to have been examined, according to first arrangements, by the tribunals *ad hoc*, a kind of judicial commission on circuit, which Hilmi Pasha

intended to constitute in each caza. Later, as these commissions would have been expensive, it was decided to relegate the cases to the ordinary tribunals. Such is the new system on its trial in three cazas only, one in each vilayet—the cazas of Salonica, Monastir, and Uskub.

A fixed tax, payable in money, seems to offer a certain guarantee against abuses during its collection. This new system of taxes may be, in this aspect, looked upon with satisfaction. But it contains a point which will render illusory the necessary ameliorations—the assessment, namely, of the rate. The average yield of the tithe over a period of five consecutive years, which, according to the project, determines the amount of the fixed tax, does not represent the real taxable capacity of the cultivator, and consequently cannot express the relation between the tax and the prosperity of the taxpayer. The following are the reasons which lead us to this conclusion :

1st. The yield of the tithe, which, for reasons to be given later, grows each year in evident disproportion with the development of agriculture, represents a tax much heavier than the tenth part of the produce, to which the tithe should theoretically amount.

2nd. The depreciation of landed property, which is the natural consequence of the disproportionate growth of the tithe.

The State registers furnish the proof themselves.

So much for the question of the amount of the fixed land tax. But there is, besides, another fact which the Treasury will lose no time in profiting by, to the hurt of the cultivator—the frequent augmentation of the fixed taxes by rates to cover exceptional expenses. Up till now the tithe alone, being collected in kind, did not lend itself to the additional rates for extraordinary expenditure. If we add to this the absence of reduction in case of famine or bad years, as well as the difficulty of the villagers in paying the tax in ready money, we shall have an idea of the results to be obtained from the new system.

Moreover, Hilmi Pasha and one of the civil agents, the late Muller, have admitted that their first care had been for

the interests of the Treasury, but that they hoped that the taxpayers would in time find compensation in the developments of agriculture which would follow when public security should be assured. This comes to doing nothing, or doing infinitely little, in a department crying for the most serious reforms. It is consequently quite natural that the new system should be far from responding to the imperious needs of the moment.

The civil agents, and Hilmi Pasha himself, do not believe, or pretend not to know, that the tithe, whose revenues are to determine the new tax, has attained an exorbitant amount which makes it immeasurably burdensome. To-day the Government, forced to cover enormous exceptional expenses, will no longer lease the tithe except for ready money. At the same time, it takes measures to stop abuses in the collection of the tax, whence it comes that the farmers have renounced all part in bidding for the tithe. This situation becoming impossible, the Government sees itself obliged in certain quarters to force the villagers to buy the tithe, and in others to give it to the farmers under special conditions, to the certain hurt of the cultivators.

What has already been said seems to us sufficiently to demonstrate that the figures as to the revenues of the tithe for the last five years—figures taken by Hilmi Pasha and the civil agents as basis of the calculation to fix the amount of the new tax—are misleading, that they are far from answering to the taxable capacity of the cultivator.

We must add to our criticism of this reform the confusion and abuses which reign in the assessment and collection of other taxes. Two of these taxes, the road tax and the tax for exemption from military service, the latter principally, represent far too heavy a burden. According to law, the amount of the military service tax is fixed by the following rule : Every village or community, not Mussulman, is forced to buy exemption from military service by a rough sum in piastres obtained by the multiplication of 5,000 by the dividend of the total of the male inhabitants of the village, divided by 180 (1 per 180 being the average number of soldiers furnished by the Mussulman population). Never-

theless, regular registers of the taxpayers being generally wanting, the tax for exemption from military service attains, more often than not, double and treble proportions. Thus minors and old men past service are obliged to pay this tax, although exempted by law from it. Here is an example among thousands of cases : Lazare Micheff, of the village of Novo-Selo, caza of Ishtib, eighty years old and paralysed in the left side, continues to pay the military tax. Another abuse is that the portion of deceased and absent persons continues to be collected from the present inhabitants. Thanks to this system, the tax for exemption from military service, which in theory should come to 37 piastres per male inhabitant, attains, in certain cases, the total of 100 to 150 piastres, and even more. Complaints of this state of matters have never had any result.

Latterly, the Government has increased the tax for exemption from military service. An Imperial iradé, signed last year, fixes the amount of the tax on the following basis : 5,000 piastres for every 100 male Christians, instead of 5,000 for every 180 as formerly. This increase, almost doubling the old tax, and the presence of the delegates of the Powers, have not prevented the local authorities from committing the customary abuses in the distribution and collection of this tax—abuses which are just as common and customary, however, in the collection of the other taxes. That this is so, is proved by the document given below :

*To His Excellency Hussein Hilmi Pasha, President of the Financial Commission for the Imperial Vilayets of Roumelia (Salonica).*

PETITION OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE VILLAGE OF BUKH, CAZA OF FLORINA, VILAYET OF MONASTIR.

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

The undersigned, the mayor and councillors of the village of Bukh, caza of Florina, commissioned by the council of the village, have the honour to make Your Excellency acquainted with the following :

1st. Our village numbers 243 houses, with a population of 2,258 inhabitants, 1,193 of which are men and 1,065 women. Of the men 25 have taken their departure for good ; there remain, therefore, 1,168 male inhabitants for whom the village is obliged, according to the most recent law, to pay the tax for exemption from military service at the rate of 5,000 piastres for every 100 men—that is to say, 11·68 times 5,000, making



in all 58,400 piastres. Now the local authority sends us a *maybata* (decree) fixing the total of the tax at 65,850 piastres, a figure which greatly exceeds that established and exacted by the law. Besides this, according to the last *maybata*, we have to pay a sum of 3,951 piastres in additional rates.

2nd. The tax on buildings (the *verghi*) of 9,854 piastres is also excessive, since there are many among us obliged to pay it two or three times for different buildings, constructed at different times on the same foundations. There are, in addition, many long-abandoned mills for which the *verghi* is still exacted and collected.

3rd. The miller's licence (*temelhu*) amounts to 300 piastres when the revenues and profits do not exceed that sum.

4th. The tithe for the past year amounted to 40,550 piastres, whereas it was formerly often bought by farmers for 85,000 piastres, which proves clearly how prejudicial to us is the system of tax-farming.

5th. Setting aside the old tax on live-stock (*beglik*), which was 5 piastres per head for sheep and goats, we have had to pay since last year taxes on horses, mules, and cows, at 10 piastres per head; on donkeys 3 piastres, and on pigs 13 piastres.

This tax on live-stock weighs so heavily on us that we shall soon be obliged to give up our principal means of existence—cattle-breeding.

6th. Last year we were obliged to pay 1,080 piastres in aid of the hospital at Florina, and 1,400 piastres for the reparation of military posts; making in all 2,480 piastres.

The total of the various impositions which we have to meet comes to between 150,000 and 200,000 piastres a year. That burden is so heavy for a village like ours, which was, a year ago, burned to the ground and destroyed, that it is beginning to crush us. Every new year finds us face to face with new deficits and brings us new debts. Many villagers have emigrated for this and continue to emigrate to far-off countries; the day is not far distant when we too shall be forced to do likewise, if the Imperial Government does not deign to take timely measures to lighten this burden.

In view of the preceding, we have the honour to implore you humbly to take up our cause before the honourable Financial Commission in order that it may grant us:

- 1st. A reduction of the *bedel*, or at least its limitation to proportions fixed by the law, and the suppression of all additional rates.
- 2nd. The suppression of the double or treble *verghis* (tax on buildings), on buildings for which two or three taxes are at present paid.
- 3rd. The remission of taxes on abandoned mills.
- 4th. The reduction by at least half of the millers' licences.
- 5th. The suppression of the new tax on large live-stock.

Respectfully, etc., etc.,

VILLAGE OF BUKH, 28th March 1906.

Independently of the considerable increase by *iradé* of already existing taxes, the Imperial Government, in order

to find financial resources adequate to its insatiable needs has recourse to new taxes created in a moment of great danger and general scarcity and misfortune. These new taxes are the "voluntary contributions" for the maintenance of the army which are established and collected as an exceptional tax, and the tax on live-stock, which lies with peculiar weight on the country population, on the metayers, many of whom have been forced to sell part of their live-stock for a song in order to pay the tax on the rest.

Besides these increased or newly created taxes, a recent imperial iradé has ordained a new tax, the poll tax (*chakhsi-verghissi*), a kind of tribute levied on male subjects of from eighteen to seventy years old. An iradé fixes the amount of this tax at a sum equivalent to the income for three days of the taxpayer. Thus, a trader or a cultivator who makes 19 piastres in three days will pay into the treasury 20 piastres a year; one making 20 to 29 piastres in three days will pay 30 piastres, and so on, as in the following table:

*Revenue for three days*

30 to	100 piastres.	Tax	100 piastres.
100	" 199	"	200 "
200	" 299	"	300 "
300	" 399	"	400 "
400	" 499	"	500 "
500	" 599	"	600 "
600	" 699	"	700 "
700	" 799	"	800 "
800	" 899	"	900 "
900	" 999	"	1,000 "
1,000	" 1,999	"	2,000 "
2,000 and above	"	"	3,000 "

Those cultivators whose properties are appraised at £T1,000 pay 500 piastres, those whose property is appraised at from £T1,000 to £T2,000 pay 600 piastres, and so on.

Functionaries who were exempted from this tax by preceding iradés will also pay a tax equivalent to three days of their salary, payable in the month of April. The collection of the poll tax has already begun, and is carried out with extreme rigour.

Along with this tax, a special iradé has ordained a new extraordinary tax, whose aim is the construction of stations for the police. This tax is 6 per cent. of the tax on landed property. Already in the month of December 1905 commissions were appointed in all the centres of the cazas to fix the amount of this tax for each village separately, and the Government began to collect it no later than the month of January 1906. The communities, and especially the Christian communities of certain towns, have presented petitions asking for the suppression of this tax, but all in vain. The new tax creates an additional burden on the population, and the absence of regular registers of landed property will lead to numerous abuses when it is collected.

As early as 1905, the assistants of General Degiorgis, the chief of the foreign officers, were summoned to give their opinion on this tax. According to our information, the greater number of these officers declared against it. The question was also discussed at the beginning of 1906 in the Conferences between General Degiorgis and the officers delegated by the Powers. The delegates of two Powers are said to have declared categorically for the rejection of this tax; General Degiorgis considered it just, and defended its imposition.

To complete the picture of the characteristic abuses of the taxation system in Turkey, there should be added to the preceding the taxes called "voluntary contributions." These "voluntary contributions" are collected on any excuse: the population has often been forced, on this pretext, to furnish telegraph poles gratis to the State.

Thus crushed by taxes, pitilessly ground, reduced to want, deprived of all rights, dishonoured and decimated, the people cannot help but fall a prey to the revolutionary idea.

## CHAPTER IV

### EUROPEAN INTERVENTION

**WE** have seen that the Macedonian revolution had furnished the pretext for an outbreak of Turkish military barbarity. That "repression," exercised on all bearing the name of Bulgarian, without distinction of age or sex, and without any attempt to discover the really responsible persons, was made under cover of the Austro-Russian agreement.

The Austro-Russian agreement dates from 1897. At that time Macedonia, long given over to disorder and anarchy, had seemed on the eve of a serious crisis. The Armenian massacres had sent a shudder through the length and breadth of the Oriental world. It seemed as if the mad prank of the Greeks must put the spark to the powder. The coolness of the Bulgarians, who refused to let themselves be beguiled into any camp, was at that time the saving of Europe from grave complications.

But Austria and Russia had seen the danger to themselves of crossing swords surrounded by the aroused Powers. They understood that their respective ambitions could not be satisfied in a conflict in which others would take part. They therefore planned to neutralise each other mutually for a longer or shorter time, while excluding all influences except their own. Thus was founded the policy of the nations "most concerned." As soon as there were any signs of a revolutionary enterprise, the Russian and Austrian Cabinets hastened to remind the world of the caution which they had imposed upon other Powers by their agreement of years back. On May 9th, 1902, the Ambassador of France at Vienna wrote to his Minister, M. Delcassé :

The Russian Ambassador has recently conferred with Count Goluchowski, and he has assured me that the two governments are in complete agreement as to using their influence *as much as possible* in favour of calm and peace.

That "as much as possible," which we have italicised, marks the distance to which the two governments are resolved to go. Reminding the world of this agreement of theirs, they exclude any intervention but their own, the doubt left as to their own intervention leaving no hope of the re-establishment of calm and peace.

And so passed a whole summer of disorder and distress, without a single efficacious measure being taken or even proposed by the two Powers that pledged themselves to the task in the sight of Europe. And not only have they not exercised any calming influence, but they seem not even to have pondered on the remedies to be applied to the evil, deep-seated but curable, from which Macedonia suffers so severely. It is not they who will be first to say "Reform."

On October 20th, 1902, M. J. de la Boulinière, Minister of France at Sofia, wrote :

If the Powers wish to exercise a moderating influence on coming events, they must take the initiative in a plan of reforms to be imposed on Turkey. Only the winter separates us, perhaps, from occurrences which, if they are not averted, may be all the more serious in that not only Bulgarian, but Slav sympathies are leading up to them and will increase their importance.

At the same time M. Steeg, French Consul at Salonica, arrives at quite similar conclusions, giving them, however, a more practical turn by his manner of statement :

There remains the question whether it would not be possible so to modify the conditions of life of the Bulgarians of Macedonia as to induce them at last to desist from agitations which have no hope of success. As far, at least, as experience goes, it seems no vain attempt to secure the safety of their persons and property. Two practical reforms would suffice, in my opinion, to bring about this result.

The critical situation of the Bulgarian villager of Macedonia is well known. On the one hand, he is without defence against all the violence of the revolutionary bands, and on the other he is exposed to all the exactions of the Turkish gendarmerie, who are recruited from a bad class, irregularly paid, and obliged to "live on the inhabitants."

The organisation of a sufficiently numerous gendarmerie, well paid, well

selected, and commanded by first-class officers, would suffice, it seems, to make more and more difficult the movements of the revolutionary bands, and to reassure the peasants who, from the moment they ceased to fear reprisals, would probably support the authorities. Such a reform would certainly cost less than the mobilisation of redifs and the dispatch of troops, to which the Ottoman Government is more and more frequently forced to have recourse.

It is well known, on the other hand, how many abuses arise from the system of farming the tithes, which are almost always awarded to influential beys, who use their authority from the State as a pretext to make all sorts of exactions. If proof was wanting of the gravity of this question, it could be found in the fact that the two last insurrectionary movements began by the massacre of civil agents charged with collecting the tithes.

Now it happens that in the greater part of Macedonia the tithes being appropriated to the securities of the railway (Salonica-Monastir and Salonica-Dedeagatch), the produce of the adjudications is paid into the Public Debt. A rule obliging that administration to collect these revenues by its officials would doubtless suffice to put an end to abuses which are often intolerable.

It seems that if, by the reform of the gendarmerie and of the system of collecting the tithes, a minimum of security were assured to the Macedonian populations, they could not but be sensible of having made a step forward. Other important points, such as the freer admission of the Christian element into the magistracy and the administration, could be discussed afterwards more at leisure, and even the ringleaders would find themselves obliged to subordinate the realisation of their political aspirations to the considerations of the moment.

The date of this report is October 28th, 1902. Under the influence of these suggestions, M. Delcassé negotiated with various foreign governments, and on November 4th M. Bapst, Chargé d' Affaires at Constantinople, could write to him : " It is certain that the question of reforms in Macedonia is taking practical shape."

As a matter of fact, under the threat of diplomatic action, inspired by the French proposals, on the part of the liberal Powers, one at least of the Powers most concerned had openly ranged itself on the side of reform. And this is how the Porte yields to the orders communicated to it. A dispatch of M. Bapst of December 1st warns us not to interpret the Turkish initiative in a sense which it cannot have :

In view of the attitude taken by the principal Powers, the Sultan has just instituted two commissions : one to proceed to study on the spot the

"ameliorations" to be applied to the situation in Macedonia, the other at the Porte to examine the proposals of the first. It seems as if these decisions have been taken in order to elude the demands of the Russian Ambassador, who has been charged by the Emperor to demand efficacious reforms, and who in his last audience brought strong pressure to bear upon the Sultan. But M. Zinovieff has just told me that he would not be put off with palliatives, and that he had received formal orders from the Emperor to insist on reforms.

Harassed during these last days by the remonstrances of the ambassadors, the Porte wishes to appear to have taken into consideration all that has been said to it, and to consent to some reform in Macedonia; but it requires no very close examination of the version given to the Press to see that the Government has no serious intentions in mind.

The inspector who has been appointed is to "superintend and carry out the measures recently decreed for the vilayets of European Turkey and approved by Imperial irade." Now, except sending troops to Macedonia, no measures have been decreed by the Sovereign; is it then repression by the strong arm that Hussein Hilmi Pasha is expected to "superintend and carry out"?

Why, also, should Macedonia—that is to say, the unredeemed part of the Greater Bulgaria of the Treaty of San Stefano—be classed together, under the name of the "vilayets of European Turkey," with Albania, Epirus, and the Greek or Turkish districts of the vilayets of Adrianople or Salonica? Reforms appropriate to one of those regions would not be suitable to others; this incompatibility affords a pretext for making no change.

It should be recognised that the "Instructions concerning the Vilayets of European Turkey," and the nomination of Hilmi Pasha as inspector of reforms, if they seemed to satisfy the reforming zeal of the two Powers most concerned, did not for a moment deceive the agents of French diplomacy. After having severely criticised the appointment of the two commissions—as we have seen above—M. Bapst clearly signified how little reliance he placed on the "Instructions." On December 9th he presented a note to the Turkish Government in which he insisted that the measures taken should be "substantial and efficacious," and pointed out the necessity of a good financial administration. And M. Steeg completed his plan of reforms on December 15th.

Thus forestalled, and fearing to lose the monopoly which they had arrogated to themselves, Russia and Austria decided on February 25th, 1903, to publish a note containing

the enumeration of several reforms which they claimed to have obtained from the Sultan. In the face of so pressing a need, on the eve of the outbreak of a great insurrection, signs of which had been appearing everywhere, let us see what remedy Austro-Russian diplomacy had to offer for the Macedonian trouble.

In order to assure the success of the mission confided, in virtue of the Sultan's iradé, to the Inspector-General, the latter will be maintained at his post for a period of several years, to be determined in advance, and he will not be recalled before the expiry of this term unless the Powers have been previously consulted on the subject. He will be empowered to make use of the Ottoman troops, if necessary for the maintenance of public order, without having to apply each time to the central government.

The valis will be required to give implicit obedience to his orders.

In the reorganisation of the police and gendarmerie the Ottoman Government will call in the assistance of foreign specialists. The gendarmerie will be composed of Christians and of Mussulmans in a proportion analogous to that of the populations of the localities in question.

The rural policemen shall be Christians where the majority of the population is Christian.

In view of the molestation and excesses from which the Christian population has only too often had to suffer at the hands of certain Arnaout malefactors, and in view of the fact that the crimes and misdemeanours of the latter for the most part escape punishment, the Ottoman Government will consider without delay measures to put an end to this state of things.

The numerous arrests made on the occasion of the last disorders in the three vilayets having caused much excitement there, the Ottoman Government, in order to hasten a return of normal feeling, will grant an amnesty to all accused of or condemned for political offences, as well as to those who have emigrated.

In order to assure the regular working of the local institutions, a budget of the revenues and expenses will be made out in each vilayet, and the provincial collections, controlled by the Ottoman Imperial Bank, will be applied in the first place to the needs of the local administration, payment of the civil and military services being included therein. The manner of collecting the tithes will be modified, and the system of farming the tithes wholesale will be abolished.

So much for the reforms.

And now for the control of the Powers over the work which they were supposed to have undertaken with the intention of seeing it carried out.

At the same time there will be instituted in certain localities of the three vilayets, under the direction of the ambassadors at Constantinople, an active consular supervision of the application of the reforms agreed upon.



When closely looked into, this programme amounted to very little. The personal agent of the Sultan in Macedonia had his tenure of office guaranteed ; he remained none the less the agent of the Sultan. The gendarmerie would get the benefit of "foreign specialists" in the pay and at the mercy of the Sultan, who would choose for this obscure employment obscure Belgians and Scandinavians. The nationality of gendarmes and rural policemen was to be according to that of the majority of the population in a country where the census is a mere juggle to prove that Mussulmans are everywhere in the majority. Issues of the first importance were dispatched in a few vague formulas :

The Government *will consider without delay* measures to put an end to this state of affairs. . . .

The manner of collecting the tithes *will be modified*. . . .

An active supervision will be substituted *in certain localities*. . . .

The effect of these prescriptions was absolutely nil ; of this the state of revolution in which Macedonia remained plunged during the whole following spring is sufficient proof. The kindest thing one can say of Russia's and Austria's timid programme of reform is that it was very late in appearing, and that a year before it might doubtless have deceived and led some of the revolutionaries to lay down their arms and put their trust in the reforming wisdom of the two Great Powers.

Then the Sultan haggled over the details of the February programme. In April he decided to publish new Instructions. The duration of office of the Inspector-General was reduced from five to three years. The Powers had no longer anything to do with his recall.

On all the points referred to in the Austro-Russian note the Sultan replied by a palinode.

As to the proportion of Christian gendarmes :

The Imperial Government will consider the means of applying the principle in virtue of which the number of Mussulmans and non-Mussulmans employed in the gendarmerie must be in proportion to the number of the Mussulman and non-Mussulman populations, taking into consideration, at the same time, the local circumstances which are the basis of the restriction applying to the proportion of non-Mussulmans to be admitted into the ranks of the gendarmerie.

As to the local policemen :

The rural policemen will be chosen from among the inhabitants of the villages. In localities where the majority of the population is Christian, the rural policemen will be chosen among the Mussulman and non-Mussulman inhabitants in proportion to their numbers.

As to the amnesty :

The Imperial Government will grant an amnesty to all accused of or condemned for political offences, provided they have not been convicted of participation in crimes against common law, as well as to those who have emigrated.

As for the part of the Instructions touching the administration of the finances, it was limited to instituting the Ottoman Bank treasurer of the three vilayets. There was no restriction put upon the good pleasure of the Turkish administration.

Under such conditions it is strange that the Powers could have put any reliance whatsoever on the Austro-Russian control in the course of the year 1903 ; stranger still that the two Governments responsible for the note of February should solemnly revoke it in September. The failure of the vague attempt at reforms was then laid at the door of Turkey and Bulgaria, and the Powers were called upon to witness the ingratitude of the East.

The following note passed from Cabinet to Cabinet :

Austria-Hungary and Russia persevere in the programme which has been approved by all the Powers. Its execution nevertheless is attended with the greatest difficulties both from the side of Turkey and of Bulgaria ; it seems to be thought at Constantinople and at Sofia that one or other of the Powers will no longer keep the same point of view as formerly in regard to the programme of Vienna.

In this state of affairs it may therefore be necessary, in order to further our pacifying influence, that the Powers should declare to Constantinople and to Sofia that the present situation in the vilayets, created by the criminal efforts of the committees and revolutionary bands, does not in the least affect their attitude towards the programme of action elaborated at the beginning of the current year by the two governments most directly concerned, and that, consequently, neither Turkey nor Bulgaria can count on their support in the case of resistance, open or disguised, to the realisation of this programme.

Matters took a considerable leap forward when Lord Lansdowne appeared on the scene with a programme of reforms. The English proposals were so definite and so timely in the prevailing confusion that they had to be reckoned with to some extent. The Minister of Foreign Affairs for the United Kingdom, informed of the journey to Vienna of Count Lamsdorff, and doubtless also of the approaching meeting of the Emperor Francis-Joseph and the Tsar, wished to confront the two Powers responsible for the fate of Macedonia with a body of practical resolutions corresponding to the tendencies of liberal opinion in the West.

Briefly stated, the following were the aims of the proposals contained in the dispatch of September 29th, 1903 :

The nomination of a Christian governor, or the maintenance of a Mussulman governor, assisted by European assessors.

The nomination of European officers and subalterns commissioned to reform the gendarmerie.

Withdrawal from Macedonia of all the bashi-bazouks, who had been more or less regularised under the name of *redifs* and *ilavés*.

The sending by each of the Powers of six officers, to accompany the Ottoman troops, exercise a restraining influence, and obtain reliable information.

Distribution of relief.

It was this plan that gave birth to the celebrated programme of Muerzsteg. Austro-Russian diplomacy, more determined than ever not to yield to an outsider the advantage of controlling events in Macedonia, was obliged to swim with the tide. In the "Resolutions taken at Muerzsteg to be transmitted as Instructions to the Ambassadors of Austria-Hungary and Russia at Constantinople" on October 30th, 1903, we find some of the ideas of Lord Lansdowne; but it goes without saying that the Austrian and Russian diplomatists took no more of them than they could help, and modified even that with the intention of avoiding all really efficacious intervention.

The powers of a Christian or Mussulman governor-general are confounded with those of the Inspector-General Hilmi Pasha, who is assigned, under the name of civil agents, not representatives of European control, but functionaries who are to be absolutely at his disposal, and whose office is to lighten his responsibility in the eyes of Europe.

The task of reorganising the gendarmerie has been confided to a general "in the service of the Ottoman Imperial Government," and to an insufficient staff of foreign officers distributed among the different sections.

Distribution of relief is ordained, but there is no provision made for its supervision.

The disbandment of the irregulars has been ordered, but has not been carried out.

We shall study this plan later in detail along with the additions which have been made to it little by little. In the meanwhile it is important to examine the influences which have forced Russia and Austria to make some effort at reform.

Until the meeting at Muerzsteg the control of the Powers over Macedonia had been entirely in the hands of the Governments of Vienna and St. Petersburg. The spirit of Lord Lansdowne's proposal could only be fulfilled by remodelling the gendarmerie so as to admit English, French, and Italians on its staff. Thus was established the principle of common intervention.

Towards the Porte, the Powers who signed the note of October 3rd had taken up an attitude of the utmost supineness. The Ottoman Government was allowed to discuss the programme point by point, and a sort of polemic between diplomatists was waged in a series of notes and memorials. On December 22nd M. Constans remarked "great slowness" in the execution of the Muerzsteg programme, and, with great perspicacity, anticipated that the revolutionaries could entertain no hope of amelioration, and would reorganise their bands. When pressed, however, by the diplomatists, the Porte tried once more to put them on the wrong scent, and on January 20th, 1904, denounced what it called the warlike intrigues of the Bulgarian Government.

The sharpening of the sword was no antiquated figure, but a reality, when used by the Porte in describing preparations for war : " The swords of the Bulgarian cavalry and artillery, as well as the sword-bayonets of the infantry, have just been sharpened," it wrote.

But other things were soon to occupy its attention. When the officers of the gendarmerie, after the civil agents, had been installed in their offices, when it came to putting into execution the reforms enacted, it was discovered that nothing could be done without money. From the financially disorganised provinces, whose revenues had been administered in a manner worthy of brigands, no help could be forthcoming. There had been a blunder somewhere ; the programme was incomplete ; and its provisions would have to remain purely formal and without practical result until the whole machinery had been renewed. But, first and foremost, there was the financial question.

The thing got so much talked about that the Sultan was uneasy. And, yet once more, in the hope of diverting the troublesome solicitude of the Powers from his empire, he forestalled them, and pretended to grant what he feared would be demanded.

The international military commission had called for the assistance of the ambassadors to assure the payment of the gendarmerie. The Government hastened to conclude an agreement with the Ottoman Bank in virtue of which that establishment undertook to ensure payment. And it was believed at Constantinople that the question of Macedonian finances was settled for a long time to come. We shall see that this question was soon to give rise to a most serious incident—the most serious, even, in the whole course of the history of the reforms.

It was on December 20th, 1904, that Lord Lansdowne brought the question of financial reform before the Powers. Russia and Austria had been boasting of their work in a note. Lord Lansdowne, aware of the necessity of guarding against a fresh crisis which was threatening in the approaching spring, replied in a memorandum, and expressed his disappointment. Nothing had been done for

the reorganisation of finances or for the improved administration of justice.

His Majesty's Government [he writes] does not desire in any way to make light of the difficulties and complexity of this undertaking, nor to dispute the necessity, so strongly insisted on in the report, of collecting ample information on which to base the recommendations to be made to the Ottoman Government. But, considering the observation which is made in the report, and with which the British Government is absolutely at one, that financial regularity is the first indispensable element in a good government, and that on it will depend the improvements which are unfortunately so necessary in the administrative and judicial systems prevailing in the three vilayets, we cannot help feeling some disappointment that, during the thirteen months that have elapsed since the programme of reforms was issued by two Powers, no progress has been made towards preparing a project to be brought under consideration. We are confident that, however things may turn out, this question will presently have the immediate attention of the two governments, and that they will insist on this subject in treating with the Porte. This reform is one of those which the Turkish Government, if it was well advised, should be ready to introduce and even be desirous of realising. That the provincial finances should be strictly regularised and rigorously administered is essential if, besides the expenses incurred in local departments, the vilayets are to contribute proportionally to the expenses of the empire.

Concurrently with this reform, it seems urgently necessary that an attempt should be made to improve the machinery of the administration of justice throughout the length and breadth of the vilayets. The necessity for regular and reasonable pay is as manifest and imperative in the case of the judicial administration as in that of the army and the police. In the vilayet of Salonica, for instance, His Majesty's Government is informed that up till now the judges have only received half the pay due to them this year. It is impossible, under these conditions, to expect them to go on living without increasing their emoluments by other means, even underhand.

And in a dispatch to his ambassador at Constantinople he adds:

In the project communicated to me by the Austrian and Russian ambassadors in February 1903, it was announced that "in order to ensure the regular working of the local administration, a budget of receipts and expenses would be made out for each vilayet, and the revenues of the province, which were to be collected by the Ottoman Imperial Bank, would be applied, in the first place, to the needs of the local administration, in which would be included the payment of civil and military servants." It was also proclaimed "that the manner of collecting the tithe would be modified, and the system of farming it wholesale would

be abolished." This project, tending "to put an end to the disorders prevailing for some time past in the vilayets of Salonica, Kossovo, and Monastir," with the help of "reforms so conceived as to better the situation of the people of these vilayets," was accepted by His Majesty's Government, and its adoption recommended with the reservation that "in case the project fell short of the expectations of its authors and proved insufficient as a remedy," His Majesty's Government would not be prevented from issuing or supporting at any moment other proposals having the same aim.

The programme in question, known under the name of the Programme of Vienna, was found inadequate to the critical situation produced by the disorders that occurred in the course of the spring, and, after the conference between Count Goluchowski and Count Lamsdorff, a supplementary project (habitually referred to as the Programme of Muerzsteg) was promulgated by the two governments as containing "a more effective method of control and supervision." According to this project, the two Powers undertook to demand "the reorganisation of the administrative and judicial bodies, to which it would be desirable to admit the Christians of the country, and to favour the development of local autonomy," whilst the Ottoman Government was to be invited to introduce, without any delay, the reforms mentioned in the programme of Vienna, as well as those which might subsequently seem necessary. These proposals were also accepted by His Majesty's Government, with reservations similar to those stated in accepting the programme of Vienna.

It is hardly necessary to call Your Excellency's attention to the measure in which the actual result has, in the present case, disappointed the expectations of those interested.

And Lord Lansdowne proposes the nomination of a commission of financial reforms.

This proceeding had the effect of forcing Russia and Austria to elaborate the regulation of January 1905, which instituted the Ottoman Bank treasurer of Macedonia. At the end of a month, the Porte replied by asking that the customs duty should be raised from 8 to 11 per cent. Nevertheless, it ended in Lord Lansdowne being led by the attitude of Austria and Russia to dispute the right of these Powers to call themselves the only interested Powers. English intervention, which was to bring France and Italy into the arena, assumed a definite shape.

On March 7th the Porte adopted the Austro-Russian financial regulations, but committed the error of attenuating their effects, which most of the Powers already foresaw would be insufficient. Thus the Bank inspectors stipulated for in the

Austro-Russian project were suppressed in the regulation. On May 10th the ambassadors notified the Porte of their desire to see the financial reform completed by the nomination of an international commission. The Sultan's reply is well known. The demonstration at Mitylene followed: an international squadron had to show itself in Turkish waters to enforce this last article in the reforming work of the Powers.



## CHAPTER V

### THE APPLICATION OF THE REFORMS

**W**HILE the Powers had to apply themselves, from 1902 on, to reforming Macedonia, they had not to create an entirely new system. Over and over again and for years back, Turkish or Macedonian reform had occupied the attention of diplomatists. For examples of general reform the Powers could go not only to the memory of the Tanzimat and to the work of the Turkish liberals, but to the history of their own action in Turkey. Without going very far back, they could find a lesson in the endeavours of the ambassadors in 1895. At that time the project of Armenian reforms had been established on an excellent foundation. Its authors had recognised that the body of the Turkish laws, the Destour, contained all the elements necessary for administrative renovation. To reform, then, only meant to revive the already existing laws. And the salvation of Macedonia would have been assured there and then if the sovereign could have been brought to respect his own ordinances, without altering them by a jot or tittle. But to expect some glimmer of the spirit of justice or legality from the Turkish Government would be pure illusion.

Certain ideas, long floating in the air, were therefore laid hold of and given right of citizenship. Let us see, one after the other, the principles which flowed from them into the programme of Muerzsteg; let us go back to the originals and examine the manner in which they have been applied.

#### THE INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF REFORMS

Time and again there has been question of a "Governor-General" of Macedonia. Lord Lansdowne demanded that

he should be a Christian and impervious by his nationality to the Balkan influences, as well as to those of the Powers who signed the Treaty of Berlin. This idea of a Christian Governor has been often upheld in England, and is still.

The Sultan, fearing to appear to sanction Macedonian autonomy, has not admitted this title of Governor. Hilmi Pasha is "Inspector-General of Reforms." He is besides a mere functionary of the Imperial palace; he holds his powers from his master alone, and, as M. Maurice Kahn has said, he may have "a mission to succeed or a mission to fail." Therefore the independent and neutral character of the chief of the administration in Macedonia does not exist.

Another guarantee of independence was to be conferred upon him by the security and duration of his possession of office. As early as 1876, when the Conference of Constantinople was engaged in giving a Governor-General to Roumelia, it formulated its desiderata as follows :

At the head of each of the provinces will be placed a vali (Governor-General), who will be appointed for a term of five years, by the Sublime Porte, with the consent of the guaranteeing Powers.

The vali cannot be removed from office without order from the Court of Appeal, after having been brought to trial.

He shall be a Christian, and may be either a Turkish or foreign subject.

The modified project of 1877 returned to the subject in these terms :

The Governors-General of the provinces will be appointed for the first five years by the Porte with the preliminary consent of the Powers.

When this Governor had become an Inspector, the Austro-Russian project of February 1903 showed the same solicitude in regard to him :

To assure the success of the mission entrusted to the Inspector-General, he shall be maintained at his post for a period of several years, to be determined in advance, and he shall not be recalled before the expiry of this period without previously consulting the Powers. In this matter he will be at liberty to make use, if the maintenance of public order requires it, of the Turkish troops without having recourse each time to the central government.

The valis will be bound to conform strictly to his orders.

The Sultan did not allow himself to be burdened with the obligation of keeping Hilmi Pasha in office more than three years, and he suppressed the clause which stipulated for the consent of the Powers. Having a free hand, besides, in the choice of his representative, he can keep him for a good twenty years in that perilous position, for which he has chosen him out of a thousand. Hilmi Pasha, who doubtless deserves all the good that many people think and say of him, and whom M. Maurice Kahn has represented as full of good intentions, cannot, as a Turkish official, be other than a passive tool of the Hamidian tyranny ; that is, the opposite of a reforming element.

### THE CONTROL

The first words of the programme of Muerzsteg establish the principle of the "control of the activities of the local authorities." But the application of this principle is very timid, since it consists solely in the institution of civil agents, whose uselessness we have already seen. The Conference of Constantinople in 1876 had gone much farther in creating the "International Commission for the two vilayets." Here are some of the powers, according to the protocols, attributed to it :

The Commission is charged to take part in the inquiry about to be made by the Ottoman Government as to the instigators of massacres and other excesses, to find out the guilty, to superintend their examinations, and assure their punishment.

The Commission will take part in the revision of the sentences pronounced against the Christians by the special tribunals.

The Commission will judge whether it is necessary to prohibit the carrying of arms in certain parts of the territory. . . . It will propose any other measure of police which it thinks useful to ensure the safety of the inhabitants, and its resolutions will be executed with the help of a special gendarmerie. . . .

The Commission will estimate the losses suffered by the Christians and determine the manner in which they may be indemnified. It will find out the means of relieving the population which has been overtaken by want. It will take care that as much material as possible is provided for the reconstruction of the churches and houses.

It will revise the title-deeds of certain properties in order to restore to

the Christians such as may have been taken from them during the insurrection.

The Commission will examine the complaints brought against the authorities, and may propose their suspension or their recall, which will be pronounced by the vali.

The Commission will superintend, in general, the execution of the rules laid down by the Conference, and, in particular, the working of the administration and of the courts, as well as the elections.

The Commission will take part, conformably to the regulation, in the nomination of sundry officials, etc.

The protocol of London of 1877, after the failure of the projects of the preceding year, was not less categorical :

The Powers propose to watch carefully, through the intermediary of their representatives at Constantinople and of their local agents, the manner in which the promises of the Ottoman Government will be executed.

Should their hopes be once more disappointed, and should the condition of the Christian subjects of the Sultan not be so improved as to prevent a return of the complications which periodically disturb the peace of the East, they think it their duty to declare that such a state of matters will be incompatible with their interests and with those of Europe in general. In such a case they reserve to themselves the right of considering in common the means which they will judge the best adapted to assure the welfare of the Christian populations and the interests of general peace.

Beside those fruitless arrangements of the past, the present state of affairs is singularly tame, and it was not possible seriously to hope at Muerzsteg that the agents appointed to attend on the person of Hilmi Pasha, as clearly laid down in the text of the instructions, and appointed for a period of two years, could take a really active part in the work of reform. The result has been as might have been expected, that is to say, almost nil. The civil agents, to be sure, have inquired right and left into the most notorious acts of Macedonian brigandage, instituted inquiries, always too late, and taken part in some judicial proceedings. They have succeeded, it must be recognised, in making justice less slow and arbitrariness less flagrant. But in the majority of cases, their complaisance towards the man whom they are charged to "follow everywhere" has made them his lieutenants and not his controllers.

## REORGANISATION OF THE GENDARMERIE

In all the attempts at reform, sincere or simulated, of the Ottoman empire, there has been question of ensuring a better state of domestic security. The *hatti-sherif* of November 3rd, 1839, already put in the first place the duty of the Sultan to protect his subjects. The new institutions were to bear above all, according to the promise of Abdul-Medjid, on "the guarantees which assure to our subjects a perfect security, whether of life, honour, or fortune." The philosophical commentary on this principle of law was written in the charter itself in these significant terms :

As a matter of fact, are not life and honour our most precious possessions? What man, however indisposed to violence by character, can help having recourse to it, and so becoming dangerous to the government and the country, if his life and honour are imperilled? If, on the contrary, he enjoys in this respect perfect security, he will not stray from the ways of loyalty, and all his acts will contribute to the welfare of the government and of his brothers.

The *hatti-humayun* of February 18th, 1856, only confirmed this rule, while making it more definite :

XVI.—The organisation of the police in the capital, in the provincial towns, and in the country districts will be revised in such a manner as to give all the peaceable subjects of my empire the strongest guarantees of security, whether of person or of property.

It is impossible to recall without bitterness the promises due to the generous initiative of the only Ottoman sovereign who had merited in some measure the name of liberal. At a distance of seventy years, these promises seem to have been only the irony of an autocrat determined to abandon nothing of his tyrannical power. In point of view of security, most of the provinces of the Ottoman empire are to-day in a more miserable state than at the epoch when the era of the Tanzimat opened.

It was the International Conference of Constantinople in December 1876, and January 1877, which was the first to formulate the principle of a gendarmerie in whose ranks all the national elements of the empire would be repre-

sented. In the project of organic regulation concerning Bulgaria it is stated :

There will be formed a militia or national guard composed, proportionally to the population, of Christians and Mussulmans, and whose number will not exceed 1 per cent of the male inhabitants. It will be drilled separately, under the direction of officers appointed by the vali. If, by his order, the bodies of militia happen to be assembled to a number exceeding a thousand men at a given point, the superior officers (commanders and higher grades) will be appointed by the Sublime Porte.

A gendarmerie, maintained by the province, sufficient to keep public order and act as police, will be formed in such a manner that the number of Christians and Mussulmans composing it will be in proportion to the population of each religion. It will have Mussulman and Christian officers, appointed by the Governor-General, and will be distributed through the country.

The modified project of March 1877 led to the fixing of this strict rule :

Employment of irregular troops absolutely forbidden. Formation of a militia and a gendarmerie of Christians and Mussulmans proportionally to the population, with subaltern officers appointed by the Governors-General.

The European Commission, constituted according to the prescriptions of the Treaty of Berlin, devoted in the law of 1880 relating to the vilayets a special section and twenty-two articles to the organisation of a gendarmerie and of a police. The composition of the gendarmerie is fixed in Article 307 as follows :

Recruiting for the gendarmerie is made in the vilayet among all the inhabitants fit to serve, and without distinction of race or religion, observing, as much as possible, the proportion between Mussulmans and non-Mussulmans.

The gendarmerie is recruited by voluntary enlistment. The duration of the first engagement is two years. It may be renewed from year to year with the consent of the commander of the battalion.

The ambassadors of the Great Powers at Constantinople, when they dictated to the Sultan the decree of October 20th, 1898, on the reforms in Armenia, were only following literally, as far as concerns the organisation of the gendarmerie, the principles laid down by the Ottoman and

international acts which we have just cited. Article 22 of this decree is thus worded :

The officers, subalterns, and soldiers of the gendarmerie shall be recruited among the Mussulman and non-Mussulman inhabitants of the empire, in proportion to the total of the Mussulman and non-Mussulman population of each vilayet.

And when the Sultan wished to forestall possible demands of reform for the vilayets of Roumelia, and issued his decree of April 22nd, 1896, he seemed to have entered on the path which diplomatic initiative had indicated twenty years back when he prescribed, under the heading of "Service of Public Order," that "in the regiments of gendarmerie of the vilayets of Roumelia non-Mussulman inhabitants shall be admitted in the proportion of 10 per cent."

It did not cost Abdul-Hamid much to make a pledge which he was resolved not to keep. The decree of April 22nd, 1896, was a mere sham for the purpose of lulling the impatience for reform of that part of the European public which had been profoundly moved by the massacres in Armenia.

When, in 1902, the state of profound disorder in which Macedonia was plunged made it necessary that the conditions of private life of the three vilayets should be very closely examined by the Powers, the first effort of the agents of the foreign governments was directed to the study of the new arrangements touching the security of individuals.

M. Steeg, French Consul at Salonica, wrote on December 15th, 1902, to M. Delcassé :

In the report which he has addressed to his Embassy on the question of reforms in Macedonia, and which he has substantially communicated to me, Sir A. Biliotti, Consul-General of England at Salonica, suggests, in order to avoid all competition, that foreigners, such as Belgians, Danes, etc., having no connection with the Great Powers, should be appointed to the posts of inspectors. I single out this proposal as capable, at need, of getting rid of certain difficulties.

The long career of Sir A. Biliotti in the East and his well-known sympathies with Turkey are a guarantee of the value of his proposals.

As he shows, the suspicions which surround the Ottoman Government and the credence given in Europe to all the stories, true or imaginary, of

abuses and cruelties put down to its account, prevent it from putting into practice, in order to overcome the attempted rebellions of its subjects, the means which a Western Government would think itself justified in employing towards its subjects.

While contributing to put an end to the greater part of the abuses whose disappearance is essential for the peace of the country (tortures, ill-treatment of prisoners, etc.), the mere presence of these inspectors would put the Government in a position to enforce the application of the laws with legitimate firmness, secured as it would be by reports which Europe would credit, against the danger of the facts being perverted by party spirit.

These observations are particularly applicable to the judicial inspectorships which were created by the regulations of 1896, and which only need to be filled by foreign officials, to be appointed for a fixed period with the official or semi-official assent of the Embassies.

The creation of special inspectors for the gendarmerie and the police would contribute to the same result, and its direct utility would be still greater.

There is nothing of more immediate importance for the re-establishment of national order in Macedonia than the organisation of a sufficiently numerous, well-recruited and well-paid gendarmerie, which, instead of contributing to the ruin of the peasants, would act as their defence against the bands of brigands, and against those of the revolutionary committees. Now, firstly, there would be every advantage, as is proved by the example of Crete, in undertaking organisation under the direction of foreign specialists; secondly, without the vigilant and independent control only to be exercised by foreigners, the old abuses will lose no time in again cropping up.

In their notes of October 1903, containing the decisions arrived at at Muerzsteg, the Austro-Hungarian and Russian Governments made provision in the following terms for the reform of the gendarmerie :

II.—Seeing that the reorganisation of the Turkish gendarmerie and police constitutes one of the most essential measures for the pacification of the country, it would be urgent to require from the Porte the introduction of this reform.

Taking into consideration, nevertheless, that the few officers, Swedish and others, employed up till now, being ignorant of the language and local conditions, have not been able to render themselves useful, it would be desirable to introduce the following modifications and additions into the original project :

(a) The task of reorganising the gendarmerie in the three vilayets shall be confided to a general of foreign nationality, in the service of the Ottoman Imperial Government, who might be assisted by military men from the Great Powers, who would share among themselves the districts in which they should employ their activity as instructors and organisers.



In this manner they will be able at the same time to watch over the behaviour of the troops towards the population.

(b) The officers may ask, if they think necessary, for the addition of a certain number of officers and subalterns of foreign nationality.

The Austro-Russian note was submitted to the Sublime Porte on October 9th (22nd), 1903.

On November 3rd following, the Porte replied by a dilatory note. The special point of the reorganisation of the gendarmerie it believed it could evade by one of the most classic expedients of its diplomacy. Before even writing its reply, it had dispatched to Macedonia a commission armed with "formal and precise instructions," the only one of which it deigned to reveal being "to adopt integrally the special arrangements enacted on this point to complete the reform of this body, and to employ the Swedish, Norwegian, and Belgian officers already engaged for the supervision, instruction, and perfecting of the different branches of this service."

At the same time, the Turkish Government communicated a dispatch of Inspector-General Hilmi Pasha, dated October 10th (that is, the day after the Austro-Russian note had been submitted to the Sublime Porte). Hilmi Pasha lauded the work of the Swedish, Norwegian, and Belgian officers known by the Powers to be inefficient:

The officers engaged in Europe for the reorganisation of the gendarmerie [said he] are working at the accomplishment of their task. All sorts of facilities are offered to those who desire to enter the gendarmerie. Not only those who cannot write the Turkish language, but even those who are completely ignorant of it, are admitted.

It was evident that a word of command had been given from high places, and that the Sultan was doing his best to protect himself against the intention of the Powers to enforce their co-operation on him for the pacification of Macedonia. This must not be forgotten when we try to judge the result of the attempt after more than two years of trial.

It was on November 24th only that the Porte, realising the very decided intention of the Powers to obtain the

control of the security of Macedonia, accepted the nine articles of the Austro-Russian proposition. The civil agents having been appointed without delay, the whole discussion soon turned on the organisation of the new gendarmerie. The Sultan at first had flattered himself that the commander of this reconstituted body would be a German officer. But German diplomacy, having no mind to play a part in a question in which it had never seen any profit for itself, and from which it had up till then stood prudently apart, seems to have refused to hear of an arrangement which might have risked embroiling it with its own allies of Vienna and Rome. Germany did not even accept a share of the common task. As in Crete, at the time of the occupation of 1897, she adhered to her position of neutral, and refused to undertake one of the sections subjected to foreign surveillance.

It was only on January 2nd, 1904, that the Sultan decided to nominate the Italian General Degiorgis, who had been designated for his choice, commander of the Macedonian gendarmerie. But on January 15th the Porte again tried to diminish the effect of its consent. In an ambiguous note it confirmed the appointment of General Degiorgis, without saying anything of the new officers whom he would take with him to Macedonia :

II.—The task of reorganising the gendarmerie in the three vilayets will be confided to an Italian general specially and provisionally engaged in the service of the Imperial Government.

This officer will proceed to Roumelia with the mission of putting into execution, in conjunction with the local authorities, the measures which shall be prescribed by the decision of the Council of Ministers and sanctioned by Imperial iradé in view of the reorganisation of the said provinces.

He will be in communication with the Inspector-General, and will make use of the Swedish, Norwegian, and Belgian officers already engaged to inspect and reorganise the gendarmerie in the different cazas. It will be his business, moreover, to keep the Inspector-General informed of the facts which he or the officers placed under his orders will have ascertained in the course of their work of reorganisation.

The Powers, nevertheless, nominated their officers, who arrived in January at Constantinople, where the Sublime

Porte completely ignored them until General Degiorgis presented himself on February 2nd.

But the Porte was still half-hearted. It began a discussion with the ambassadors of Austria and Russia on the regulation relative to the Macedonian gendarmerie, which it intended to draw up in conjunction with General Degiorgis and his lieutenants. An Austro-Russian note of January 15th (28th), 1904, is thus worded :

II.—The Imperial Government having confided, conformably with Clause II. of the decisions of Muerzsteg, the task of reorganising the gendarmerie of the three provinces to a general of foreign nationality, it belongs to the latter to elaborate, in co-operation with the officers of the Great Powers who are his coadjutors by terms of this same clause, the plan of the work of reorganisation which falls to him.

The Sultan, by making use of the right which he claimed of accepting or refusing as he pleased the regulation elaborated by the officers in his pay and nominated by him, was nevertheless successful in very sensibly modifying the arrangements made by General Degiorgis and the International Commission which had worked along with him.

The Turkish Government, by dint of patient efforts, had succeeded in doing away with the staff of European subalterns whose formation had been provided for in the programme of Muerzsteg ; more than that, it had obtained a diminution of the number of officers, and from those whom it had deigned to recognise it had taken away the essential attributes of their command. So much the obstinate resistance of the Sultan had obtained in theory ; we shall see farther on how much it was to obtain in practice after having patiently weakened the control of the delegates of Europe for two years. By difficulty after difficulty, through diplomatic conversations and exchanges of notes, the Porte succeeded in delaying the departure for Salonica of the general and his lieutenants until April 11th.

Meanwhile, in Macedonia the solution of this vital question was awaited with well-justified impatience. The Bulgarian population, so cruelly harassed, must see with

unmixed joy the gendarmerie pass under the command of European officers. It put all its hope in the new organisation, and showed itself ready to give it its confidence and support. Unhappily, the event was to bring a cruel disappointment of these too rosy hopes.

The programme of Muerzsteg, taken in a literal sense, tended to place the whole Turkish administration under European control. It was evident that the officers of gendarmerie, distributed in sufficient numbers in the principal posts and seconded by a staff of foreign subalterns, would have very quickly come to superintend in detail the working of the whole administrative machine. The least which one could expect of them, besides the material pacification of the country—an achievement which is the first business of a good police—was that they should put an end to arbitrariness. The prisons, it was believed, would no longer overflow with innocent men; justice would begin to work in an almost normal manner; the tithes would be legally collected. Would they not be there, those officers nominated by the Powers? would they not lend an attentive ear to the just complaints of the unfortunate? Was there any other object in appointing them than to make of them the impartial protectors of an unjustly tormented population?

Such a faith in their beneficent influence might have been, for them, a powerful spring of activity. But in order that this activity should really come into play, it would have been necessary first of all to put it out of reach of the Sultan's destructive power. How the Sultan once more mocked the decisions of Europe, and how he succeeded in paralysing the organ of control which he had been obliged to adopt, is clearly shown by the history of that reformed gendarmerie.

On landing at Salonica on April 19th, 1904, General Degiorgis had informed the local authorities that the Sultan, at the time of his last audience, had asked him to communicate directly with himself on matters touching his duties. "This news," telegraphs M. Steeg to M. Delcassé, "has not failed to produce a certain impression."

The contract of the foreign officers was not signed by the

marshal commanding the 3rd Army Corps and by the interested parties until May 14th. The French, English, and Austrian military delegates did not take command of their sections until May 18th, the Italian officers a little later. Seven months had therefore been necessary for a beginning to be made in applying the most urgent of the reforms provided for at Muerzsteg.

Two points in the contract of the foreign officers had profoundly modified the character of the control which the Powers had intended to establish over the Ottoman gendarmerie. The Sultan had obtained that the representatives of Europe should engage to wear the special uniform of the reorganised gendarmerie and not the uniform of the army to which each belonged, and he had succeeded in giving their mission a provisional character by limiting the duration of the contract to three years.

On July 25th, 1904, the French Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople received from Colonel Vérant, chief of the French section, a report drawn up after a round of inspection in the sandjak of Serres. This report states the numerous difficulties encountered by the officers in undertaking the reforms necessary for the proper working of the gendarmerie. According to Colonel Vérant, the measures taken, up to the present time, for the reorganisation of the gendarmerie are insufficient; a more effective control is necessary, and he therefore thinks it indispensable to have an officer for each *caza*, and a subaltern attached to each officer. One of the difficulties mentioned is that the Turkish functionaries are forbidden to take cognisance of complaints which might be referred to them by the foreign officers.

Meanwhile General Degiorgis had so literally interpreted the last instructions given him by the Sultan that, at the end of several weeks' command, he was nothing but a tool in the hands of the Imperial palace. For this he had won the name of Degiorgis Pasha, given him by the Turks in flattery and by the Christians of Macedonia in irony. In July 1904 M. Constans was obliged to address to Colonel Vérant a note of very significant import, defining the character of his mission according to the conception of

the French Government, a conception very different from that of the commander-in-chief of the Macedonian gendarmerie.

PERA, 4th July, 1904.

The exact functions of the foreign officers delegated for the reorganisation of the gendarmerie in Macedonia having in these last days given rise to some uncertainty, I have inquired into what these functions should be in view of the programme of Muerzsteg, and have come to the following conclusions :

On all technical questions bearing on the reorganisation of the gendarmerie and on its working, the foreign delegates, being coadjutors of General Degiorgis, should be permanently in touch with him, when these questions, while retaining a certain technical character, become in some of their aspects political.

But the case is altered when the business submitted to the foreign delegates is no longer technical, but exclusively of a political nature. General Degiorgis has, in fact, a strictly limited commission, in the accomplishment of which he is dependent on the Sublime Porte, whereas the foreign delegates, remaining the agents of their respective countries, are not so precisely limited in their activity as the general ; and it is in their power, it is even their duty, to escape from the purely technical sphere to which he is confined whenever they are informed of a matter touching "the general work of the reforms and the political pacification of the country."

If, therefore, matters of this nature occur within your district of Serres, you will not have to consult General Degiorgis ; you must notify it to the French Consul at Salonica, and the latter, according to circumstances, will bring it before either the Russian and Austro-Hungarian civil agents, the Inspector-General, or else the Embassy.

Such is the regular procedure, and I have ascertained that, for the district of Drama, the ambassador of England has expressed himself to the same purpose as I have.

These unmistakable instructions were the answer to a recent circular of Hilmi Pasha, in which the Inspector-General of Reforms had shown his intention to confine the foreign officers, purely and simply, to the material organisation of the gendarmerie. The result of the initiative of the French Government was to be ascertained a little later, and it was then common talk that the rôle of the officers of the French section had been far different from and much more beneficial than that of the representatives of such Powers as had taken care not to displease at any price a Sultan who was so resolute not to allow himself to be

controlled. In February 1905 M. Messiny, deputy of the Seine, who had made a journey in Macedonia a few months before, wrote :

The Turkish Government has lavished the riches of its diplomacy and cunning upon reducing to nothing the rôle of these European officers of gendarmerie, who have had to fight for every inch of their ground : their rank, their grade, their pay, their functions, their powers, and even the shape of their head-gear ; from the day of their arrival they have been wrestling with a sleepless and unscrupulous ill-will, which is sure of the approval of those in high places. In short, it is perhaps not without reason that the chief of this gendarmerie, the Italian general Degiorgis Pasha, who has by no means an easy position between the civil agents, Messrs. Muller and de Giers, and the Inspector-General Hilmi Pasha, is accused of having taken rather too seriously the title of Turkish Pasha conferred on him by the Sultan, and of having sometimes forgotten that he was chosen by the Powers to give instructions to the highest Turkish functionaries, and never to take his orders from them. Finally, their number, which was originally to be sixty, has remained during the whole year of 1904, owing to the reluctance of the Porte, limited to twenty-five, in a country destitute of roads and as large as a sixth part of France.

The ambassadors of the Powers at Constantinople, sitting down once more to weave their never-finished Penelope's web, have to settle the still debated question of the precise standing of these officers. It must be ascertained whether these representatives of Europe are to enjoy the most extended authority in everything touching the maintenance of tranquillity and good order in Macedonia, or whether, as the Porte asserts, they are to be merely inspectors of the police force, with no direct action either on the administration, or justice, or even on the troops of the gendarmerie itself.

In May 1905 Colonel Vêrand, speaking to some journalists at Constantinople, himself confirmed the judgment of M. Messiny. The rôle of merely technical counsellor which devolved upon him was not sufficient, he said, for the accomplishment of the work. Nevertheless the colonel still cherished illusions about the goodwill of the Ottoman authorities, which must have since then been dissipated.

With great difficulty, a slight augmentation of the numbers of the foreign officers had been obtained from the Sultan in the beginning of 1905. The prestige of the body did not gain much by it. As for the arrangements concerning the recruiting of the gendarmes, they had never been applied as a whole. A very well informed correspondent could write to *L'Européen* in May 1905 :

If the reorganisation of the gendarmerie exists only in theory, here are the reasons :

As in the past, the gendarme is absolute master in the Christian villages: he does what he pleases with the honour, the property, and the lives of the inhabitants. In the month of May 1904 a tchaush (sergeant-major) ill-treated till they died seven peasants of the village of Brussnik. When General Degiorgis was apprised of this fact, he confined himself to saying simply that things would always be so as long as justice was not reorganised at the same time as the gendarmerie. . . .

According to the provisions of the aforesaid article, the foreign officers were, amongst other things, "to look after the behaviour of the troops towards the population." To show whether the officers have been able to fulfil this duty, it is only necessary to cite the following facts :

In the month of May 1904 soldiers maltreated at Perlepé, in the centre of the town, the gendarme Boris Bimtcheff, of Bulgarian nationality. Some soldiers tortured to death several peasants of the villages of Koshine and of Slansko (caza of Perlepé) because they could not pay them a ransom of two pounds apiece. To escape the exactions and violence of the soldiers, several peasants have been forced to sell their live-stock in order to be able to pay the required ransom. A detachment commanded by the Yusbashi Ahmed Effendi has behaved similarly towards the Bulgarian population of the villages of Bareshani, Kadino, Velushino, and Gradeshnitza.

All these events happened not far from the residence of the Italian officers. Several peasants, by means of petitions submitted to these officers, have solicited their intervention and their protection against the excesses of the troops. Unfortunately their petitions have remained as fruitless as if they had been addressed to the Ottoman authorities.

The number of gendarmes on duty at present in the vilayet of Monastir is 977, of whom 796 are Mussulmans, and only 181 Christians, 16 Kutzo-Vlachs, 99 Greeks, 58 Jews.

Since these lines were written and this language used, the action of the reformed gendarmerie has not become more efficacious.

And now, what application has been made of paragraph 3 of the programme of Muerzsteg, establishing the principle of the proportional recruiting of the gendarmerie among men of each race and each religion?

The tables which follow will give us, for an isolated sandjak (that of Serres) and for the three vilayets taken together, both the proportion of the nationalities and the proportion of the gendarmes recruited in each nationality.



COMPARATIVE TABLE OF THE POPULATION AND OF THE EFFECTIVE FORCE OF THE GENDARMERIE  
BY NATIONALITIES IN THE SANDJAK OF SERRES.<sup>1</sup>

CAZAS OF	TURKS.		GREEKS.		BULGARIANS.		VLACHS AND Jews.		TOTAL OF MUSSULMANS.		TOTAL OF NON-MUSSULMANS.	
	Population.	Gendarmeries.	Population.	Gendarmeries.	Population.	Gendarmeries.	Population.	Gendarmeries.	Population.	Gendarmeries.	Population.	Gendarmeries.
Serres . . . .	35'84	78'51	38'65	5'00	23'46	15'89	2'05	0'93	35'84	78'51	64'16	21'49
Zihna . . . .	21'47	80'95	66'34	19'05	12'07	—	0'12	—	21'47	80'95	78'53	19'05
Neurocop . . .	58'01	82'09	2'29	3'00	39'38	13'43	0'32	—	58'01	82'09	41'09	17'91
Razlog . . . .	35'62	76'67	—	3'33	62'05	16'67	2'33	3'33	35'62	76'67	64'38	23'33
Melnik . . . .	32'00	86'05	8'25	4'65	87'20	6'88	2'44	2'32	32'11	86'05	67'89	13'95
Gorna-Djumatla .	26'80	80'00	0'17	4'00	70'38	14'00	2'68	2'00	26'80	80'00	73'20	20'00
Petritch . . .	34'75	80'49	0'29	7'32	64'28	12'19	0'71	—	34'75	80'49	65'25	19'51
Demir-Hissar . .	40'73	77'55	39'47	6'12	19'18	14'29	—	2'04	40'73	77'55	59'27	22'45
The percentage for the Sandjak . .	38'91	80'19	21'04	6'29	33'78	12'35	1'27	1'17	38'91	80'19	61'09	19'81

The Mussulmans, who represent 38'91 per cent. of the population, form 80'19 per cent. of the gendarmerie, while the Christians, who represent 61'09 per cent. of the population, only form 19'81 per cent. of the gendarmes.

<sup>1</sup> The statistics of the population are borrowed from the *Official Turkish Almanak (Salname)* for the vilayet of Salonica, year 1904.

TABLE OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE GENDARMERIE BY NATIONALITIES  
IN THE THREE VILAYETS OF MACEDONIA

VILAYETS OF	NUMBER OF GENDARMES.				Total of non-Muslims.	Muslims.	Total.	PER CENT. BY NATIONALITIES AND RELIGIONS.					
	Greeks.	Bulgarians.	Serians.	Vlachs, etc.				Muslims.	Greeks.	Bulgarians.	Serians and Vlachs.	Muslims.	Non-Muslims.
Monastir . . .	99	58	—	24	181	796	977	82	10	6	2	82	18
Kosovo . . .	33	53	24	35	145	520	665	78	5	8	9	78	22
Salonica . . .	137	71	7	5	220	1,182	1,402	84	10	5	1	84	16
TOTAL . . .	269	182	31	64	546	2,498	3,044	82	8	6	4	82	18

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Another source of information is furnished us by the official statistics published in the number for January 25th, 1905, of the Turkish journal *Asır*. We find there that the vilayet of Salonica contains 485,555 Mussulmans, 323,227 patriarchists, and 217,117 Bulgarians, which is equivalent to saying that the Mussulmans constitute 47 per cent. of the population. Nevertheless the Mussulman gendarmes, in this vilayet, represent 84 per cent. of the body, and the Christians only 16 per cent.

Insignificant in number, the Christian gendarmes are very inferior in character. They are recruited among the vilest elements of the Christian population, either because the authorities prefer them to be so, or because the respectable members of the Christian nationalities have not been able to accustom themselves, in spite of the efforts of their bishops to push them in that direction, to send any of their number to serve under Turkish officers.

### REFORM OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS

The prescription contained in Article 3 of the programme of Muerzsteg is only applicable "when a pacification of the country shall be effected." It is therefore not surprising that nothing has yet been attempted towards a "modification of the territorial boundaries of the administrative units in view of a more regular grouping of the different nationalities."

It is, besides, impossible to predict what the two Powers mean by this alteration of the administrative map. Only the Macedonian Congress of Sofia in 1902 was very precise on this subject when it proposed the formation of a province including certain portions of the three vilayets, with Salonica for capital.

### ADMISSION OF CHRISTIANS TO PUBLIC OFFICES

No application has been made up till now of this regulation, which the programme of Muerzsteg admitted for the future only. It has nevertheless already figured in a legis-

lative text, and we find it in the law of vilayets of 1880 formulated thus :

Whoever possesses the knowledge and capacity required by the law is admitted, without distinction either of race or religion, to public offices, including those of vali.

When the majority is Mussulman, the mutessarifs and the calmacans shall be Mussulmans, and, when the majority is non-Mussulman, the mutessarifs and calmacans shall be non-Mussulmans.

Among the mutessarifs and the calmacans the preference shall be given to those who know, as well as Turkish, the language of the district—that is to say, the language spoken by the majority of the inhabitants.

Nevertheless, no one can be mutessarif or calmacan in his own district or ward.

The mutessarif shall have a muavin, who shall be non-Mussulman if the mutessarif is Mussulman, and *vice versa*.

When the mutessarif is absent, his place can only be taken by his muavin.

The calmacan shall have a muavin, who shall be non-Mussulman if the calmacan is Mussulman, and *vice versa*.

There shall be in each nahié a mudir (mayor) and a muavin (deputy) whose business it will be to look after the administration of the nahié. The mudir must be of the religion of the majority.

Further, the following stipulation was inserted in the Turko-Bulgarian agreement of 1904 :

All the subjects of the empire, without distinction, being admitted to public offices, according to their aptitudes, the civil and legal offices shall continue to be open to the Bulgarian inhabitants possessing the required qualifications.

The organs of the European control have done nothing to enforce the execution of this equitable clause.

### HUMANITARIAN MEASURES

The programme of Muerzsteg had provided for a certain number of measures destined to repair the terrible effects of the crisis through which Macedonia had just passed. The two Powers had agreed to insist on the grant of special sums by the Turkish Government :

(a) For the reinstatement in their native places of the Christian families who had fled to Bulgaria or elsewhere.

(b) For the relief of Christians who had lost their property and their residences.

(c) For the restoration of houses, churches, and schools destroyed by the Turks during the insurrection.

Now here is what the already cited correspondent of *L'Européen* wrote in this connection on May 19th, 1905 :

The sums mentioned in this article have not been granted. Trifling relief has been distributed by the Government to the peasants whose villages have been burned, for the rebuilding of their houses. In reality this has been a cruel irony towards the poor peasants, for it is not with sums of from 10 to 20 francs that they can rebuild their burned houses. But what is still more iniquitous is that the bashi-bazouks took from the unfortunate peasants the small charities which the benevolent societies bestowed on them.

A correspondent wrote from Monastir a few months earlier :

A very severe cold reigns in the whole vilayet, and the situation of the unfortunate Christians whose villages were burned at the time of the last disturbances is utterly desperate. The winter decimates this homeless population, and whole families have disappeared.

And nevertheless . . . let us remember ! A positive pledge was given by the Sultan to rebuild the edifices, churches, schools, and private houses destroyed during the time of the disturbances in 1903.

As soon as they were installed in Macedonia, the two civil agents, Russian and Austrian, raised this question. Later it was settled by the Turko-Bulgarian agreement of April 1904. The Ottoman Government was formally pledged, and, assuredly, it cannot be accused of having forgotten—it appointed commissions ! These commissions did some walking about, and subsequently held meetings in Oriental style, seated on divans ; they smoked cigarettes and drank coffee. They even, it seems, drew up some statistics. Nor is that all ! They distributed sundry charities. Of the largesse of the Sultan, two hundred persons or thereabouts have received sums of from 5 to 50 piastres—that is to say, from 1 to 10 francs.

It is possible to fix approximately the number of houses burned in Macedonia at seven thousand, and in the vilayet of Adrianople at four thousand. His Majesty is far from having settled his account with his subjects in the Balkans.

The ambassadors at Constantinople having approached the Sultan in the matter, the latter positively refused to have the destroyed villages rebuilt by his troops.

The programme of Muerzsteg added in a seventh article :

In the Christian villages burned by the Turkish troops and the bashi-bazouks, the Christian inhabitants reinstated shall be free for a year from payment of any tax.

The correspondent of *L'Européen* writes on this subject :

This article has remained a dead letter. It is known that in Turkey the financial year begins on the 1st March. Usually the taxes are, in great part, collected in advance for each year. Therefore the taxes for the year 1903 were already collected when the insurrection broke out. In spite of this, in 1904 no one has been exempted from payment of taxes. The pretext was that Article 7 of the reforms was applied during the preceding year, which is untrue, since the taxes for the year 1903 had been collected in advance. More than that, the collectors even seized from the peasants the sums which had been distributed among them by the English Relief Mission.

Nevertheless, the Sultan was not tied merely by the will of the Powers expressed in the act of Muerzsteg. He had put his signature at the foot of a treaty and made a solemn promise. We shall see in the following chapter how he kept it.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE TURKO-BULGARIAN AGREEMENT

THE beginning of the year 1904 appeared to be a particularly critical period for the relations of Turkey and Bulgaria. In a dispatch of February 17th, M. Delcassé registers the declaration of the Bulgarian Government "that it would in no way attempt to complicate the task of diplomacy by provoking a rupture." But the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic adds :

I cannot help noting, unfortunately, that the disposition thus manifested by Bulgaria is in danger of being brought to nought by the attitude of the Sublime Porte. As spring approaches, and with it the fear of the return of the bands in Macedonia, the Turkish Government multiplies its recriminations against the Principality, its molestations of Bulgarian commerce, its arrests of the Prince's functionaries ; you can find the details in a recent report of our representative at Sofia. Our Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople, on his side, informs us that M. Natchevitch has had to break off the mission of conciliation confided to him by the Bulgarian Government, which has had no result. Our consul at Salonica, on the other hand, announces that impediments are thrown in the way of the reopening of the Bulgarian schools contrary to the stipulations of the iradé of 1895, and, what is more serious, that the Ottoman authorities are taking measures of a strategic order, such as the constant moving of garrisons up to the Bulgarian frontier and the construction of military roads suitable for artillery.

It was therefore a relief for everybody when a wise diplomacy persuaded the Sultan to sign an agreement with Bulgaria on March 26th. This agreement involved, as was just, obligations which were reciprocal, Bulgaria engaging itself as much as Turkey. It is interesting to-day to recall what were these obligations for each of the signatories of the agreement, and to examine how they were kept.

The Principality of Bulgaria bound itself :

1. To prevent, both in its own territory and in Eastern

Roumelia, the formation of revolutionary committees and of armed bands, as well as all subversive conspiracies against the empire, and to punish with all the rigour of the law those persons, within its own jurisdiction, who had made themselves amenable to the law, and who, having committed in the neighbouring provinces acts of such a nature as to disturb public peace, should take refuge either in Bulgaria or in Eastern Roumelia ;

2. To take the necessary measures to prevent the introduction into the neighbouring vilayets of all explosive or poisonous substances, as well as all products likely to be harmful to public health.

After having taken all the measures implied in these several engagements, the Bulgarian Government saw itself ceaselessly reproached by the diplomatic agents of Turkey with fomenting troubles on Ottoman territory. For a whole year the Principality was subjected to the hypocritical complaint of an adversary who, on his side, did not keep his word, and wished to forestall the reproaches he was bound to incur.

On March 26th, 1906, a year to a day after the signing of the agreement, M. H. Allizé, French Minister at Sofia, spoke the truth about the allegations of the Sublime Porte in a - dispatch to M. Delcassé in these terms :

In view of avoiding all reproach of connivance with regard to the Bulgarian bands, the Council of Ministers has decided to take severe measures on the frontiers, and to put an end at the same time to the incessant complaints of the Porte in this connection. The Minister of the Interior and the Minister of War have addressed circulars to the prefects and to commanders of corps in the frontier departments, enjoining them to increase the strictness of their watch over the frontier, and to see to it that each post should allow none to pass but persons provided with passports or a special authorisation, while scrupulously preventing any body of men, armed or not, from leaving Bulgarian territory. The officers and subalterns are warned that in case of negligence on their part they will be court-martialled within twenty-four hours.

Comprehending perfectly the international situation, the Bulgarian Press recommends calmness and restraint to the Macedonians. It was in the following terms that an opposition journal, which has only too often encouraged the enterprises of the committees, wrote yesterday: "The Macedonian agents should avoid fomenting disturbances in Turkey, for they would expose Bulgaria to severe blame from Europe. The Mace-



donians should cherish no illusion: they will neither be helped nor relieved by any of the Powers. An insurrection in Macedonia and in the vilayet of Adrianople would only excite the fanaticism of the Turkish population against the Christians. It is not from Bulgaria that the insurgents should expect any help at the moment when the Principality is herself in a complicated and dangerous situation, and has already trouble enough to take care of herself."

Meanwhile, how did the Sublime Porte conduct itself? And first of all, what undertakings had it given on its side? The principal ones are:

1. The carrying out of the reforms agreed upon between Turkey, Austria-Hungary, and Russia.

2. A general amnesty. "All those who are imprisoned or exiled on a charge or imputation of having directly or indirectly lent themselves to revolutionary acts, as well as all condemned for political offences, will be set at liberty and sent back to their countries, with the exception, however, of criminals convicted of attempts to blow up with dynamite ships, railways, bridges, or public establishments."

3. Repatriation of exiles, who will receive on their return to their villages assistance from the Imperial authorities for the building of their habitations and the restitution of their lands.

4. Admission of all subjects of the empire to public offices.

There could not be a better beginning. From the day after the exchange of signatures, more than four hundred Bulgarians were granted amnesty, and the measure was equally applied in the vilayet of Adrianople. The Bulgarians point to this fact with the greatest satisfaction. They maintain, further, that M. Natchevitch had, it seems, received from the Sultan the assurance that the reforms would be applied in the vilayet of Adrianople as in all the vilayets.

But from the month of July the French Chargé d'Affaires at Sofia, M. Bonnardet, writes:

There is a complaint, from the Bulgarian side, that Turkey has not permitted the return to Macedonia of the emigrants who left that province more than two years ago. To justify that measure, the Ottoman commissioner explains that emigrants belonging to that category have certainly not passed into Bulgaria, like many of the villagers, under the influence of the fear caused by the repression of the insurrection. The matter concerns influential members of the committees.

And in October the Minister of France, M. Bourgarel, writes in his turn :

Bulgarians to whom amnesty has just been granted are being sent back to prison. The priests and schoolmasters who have returned to Macedonia are obliged to reside in the villages where they were born, which results in their churches and schools remaining closed. There are still four thousand refugees who have not been able to get back to the vilayet of Adrianople, and the Porte throws obstacles in the way of their repatriation. Turkish bands levying contributions on the Christian villages are said to be forming in the vilayet of Adrianople.

In reality, Turkey was resolved not to honour her signature, and her action was arrant trickery. In spite of the amnesty, a great number of Bulgarian prisoners continued to rot in the prisons of Asia Minor, where they still are to-day. The names are known of a hundred and three of these unfortunates shut up in Anatolian fortresses in defiance of the treaty. On the other hand, the Mussulmans imprisoned before the insurrection for criminal offences benefited by the amnesty in the place of the Christians, and were set free.

By way of making up for the amnesty, the Bulgarians to whom it was granted have been retaken by the police on some pretext or other, imprisoned, then, without any semblance of proof, accused of ordinary crimes against common law. Those who have remained at liberty find themselves deprived of all means of gaining their bread. The police hunt and torture them in every possible way ; it is taken as a principle that the amnesty has only given them the right to leave prison and not to return to their places in society. Thus hundreds of families have been reduced to want.

We have before us some examples of the procedure employed by the authorities towards persons to whom the so-called amnesty has been granted. At Slatino a Bulgarian was arrested for having been one of a band in 1903. He produced his certificate of amnesty. It was rejected on the pretext of some technical irregularity. At Kresna a priest was driven from the altar on the pretext that, having the amnesty, he had no longer the right to celebrate mass. At

Slacshtitza an amnestied Bulgarian was arrested because he was looking for work. At Tchereshnitza an amnestied person who had been appointed teacher in a Bulgarian school was seized and conducted under escort to his native village. Thirty-two priests have likewise been refused the right to officiate because they had benefited by the amnesty. A hundred and seventy-six teachers were unable to teach for the same reasons. These examples might be multiplied.

Article 4 of the convention provided that relief should be distributed to the refugees in order to restore the houses destroyed during the insurrection. This paragraph has remained a dead letter. With the exception of some insignificant sums, from £T1 to £T1½, distributed here and there, nothing has been done. Twenty or thirty francs are not sufficient to build even the most humble cabin. Thus the stricken population remains to-day still shelterless, a prey to hunger and to every sort of disease.

The ravages suffered by the Bulgarian villages during the insurrection are nevertheless immense. From verifications made in this connection, the following has been established, for the vilayet of Monastir alone :

	HOUSES.	HAY-LOFTS.	CHURCHES.	SCHOOLS.
<b>CAZA OF FLORINA.</b> Burned in the villages of Bukh, Varbeni, Prekopana, Armenisko, Neokazi, Lubetino, etc. . . . .	638	160	2	2
<b>CAZA OF KASTORIA.</b> Burned in the villages of Mokreni, Bobishta, Zagoritchani, Banboki, Tchereshnitza, Blatza, Kladorabi, Pozdivitza, Gerveni, Aposkep, Tchernovitza, Drenoveni, Chestoevo, Visheni, Dambeni, Kossinetz, Laban-itza, Vrabnik, Smardesh, Bresnitza, Vambel, Jupantzi, Orman, Kumanitchevo . . .	2,516	125	4	7
<b>CAZA OF MONASTIR.</b> Burned in the villages of Lubo-ino, Braitchino, Shtarbovo, Kurbinovo, Nakoletz, Slim-nitza, Preshor, Astomati .	187	—	1	—

	HOUSES.	HAY-LOFTS.	CHURCHES.	SCHOOLS.
<b>CAZA OF RESNA.</b>				
Burned in the villages of Kruché, Leorsko, Bodno, Podmotchani, Dupeni, Ehla, Zlatari, Kriveni, Pokarvenik, Valkoderé, Perovo, Metimer, Petrino, Ghiavato, Smilevo, Stora, Moghila . . . . .	1,302	2	2	2
<b>CAZA OF DEMIR-HISSAR.</b>				
Burned in the villages of Beltché, Sopotnitza, Ezer, Diviashti, Pusta-reka, Brezovo . . . .	251	—	1	—
<b>CAZA OF KITCHEVO.</b>				
Burned in the villages of Zah-tchani, Udovo, Dushegubitza, Karabonitza, Ivantchitza, Ortchantzi, Kratchino, Sv. Vratsh, Patesht, Rabetino, Mokazi, Retchani, Dupeni . .	442	—	—	—
<b>CAZA OF OKHRIDA.</b>				
Burned in the villages of Izdo- leni, Sirubia, Zlesti, Leshani, Batun, Velmey, Varbiani, Slivovo, Gardopoli, Fredo- retchi, Brejani, Lescovetz, Dolno and Gorno-Kussel, Zavot, Meshevitza, Lokovo, Seltjé, Burinetz, Opeinitza, Screbatino, Vemartzi, Izde- glavié, Jablanitza, Beltchitza, Mishleshivo, Droglahtza, Lajani, Slatino, Uramoretz, Placa, Svinitza, Rodive, Jar- bino, Mordnitza, Zabajdi, Sarjano, Prisoviani, Retchitza, Laktine, Turié, Tzarvena- Voda . . . . .	2,160	—	5	8
<b>TOTAL . . . .</b>	<b>7,496</b>	<b>287</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>19</b>

Fifty-two of these villages are completely burned and ruined. The churches of thirty-two villages, in the caza of Okhrida, have been plundered. More than 5,230 head of large cattle and 27,200 head of cattle have been stolen; thousands of kilés of corn burned or carried away, and a considerable quantity of household articles, sheep-folds, sheaves of corn, etc., burned or carried off. The ravages committed at Krushovo, Jervi, Kuklish, and so many other places do not come into this account.

To balance all those losses, insignificant sums have been distributed, and that not to all the sufferers. The relief, according to the decisions of the commission appointed for that purpose by Hilmi Pasha, has not exceeded 50 to 100 piastres for every house not completely burned and 100 to 150 for those completely burned. And the peasants of Babishta, Zagoritchani, Dambeni, Kossinetz, Smardesh, etc., have declared that for the clearing away of the ruins 500 to 800 piastres would hardly suffice. This want of means has resulted in no house having yet been built with the funds distributed. It is with the private means of the owners that some houses have been rebuilt in the villages of Bukh, Ratrovo (caza of Florina), Zagoritchani, Vishani, Blatza, Tchereshnitza, etc. (caza of Kastoria).

On the other hand, the taxes have been collected. And even, in certain quarters, such as the villages of Krushovo, Seltzé (caza of Okhrida), Kossinetz (caza of Kastoria), etc., the articles given to the poor of the population by charitable persons have been sold by the authorities for the taxes. And in the village of Armensko the soldiers took from the peasants the few piastres distributed by the authorities the day before.

To judge of the despair of the stricken peasants, it is only necessary to cite the following fact: In the beginning of the month of June 1905 the caïmacan of Okhrida was stopped in the street by a crowd of peasants from the villages of Lokov, Zbajdi, Arjeno, Prisoviani, Glaboshtitza, etc., who told him in despairing voices that they were dying of hunger and asked him for help. He refused to listen to them, but the peasants would not leave the spot. They thus forced the caïmacan to apply to the superior authorities to obtain relief amounting to 20 piastres for each of them.

In the vilayet of Salonica twelve villages of the cazas of Serres, Nevrokop, Melnik, Razlog, Kukush, Doïran, and Gorno-Djumaïa were burned during the insurrection. Three among them were completely burned. Twelve hundred Bulgarian houses, a hundred hay-lofts and other buildings—such is the detailed account of that destruction.

In the vilayet of Uskub, six villages of the cazas of Ishtib,

Kotchani, and Kratovo were burned. Of three of them nothing remains. And it is reckoned that in all ninety-eight houses and some hay-lofts were destroyed.

In these two vilayets the owners have had to rebuild at their own expense.

The following table will give an idea, from a particular case, of the good faith which has presided over the carrying out of Article 4 of the agreement :

VILLAGES.	Houses Burned.	Number of Head of Cattle carried off.	RELIEF DISTRIBUTED BY THE AUTHORITIES.	Houses which have received no Relief.	REMARKS.
Baldevo . . . .	63	—	None	63	Burned on April 10th, 1903.
Obedin . . . .	200	—	15 piastres per nofous and £T300	30	Burned on September 16th, 1903.
Kremen . . . .	193	—	15 piastres per nofous and £T300	20	Burned on September 18th, 1903.
Town of Mekhomia	93	—	16,647 piastres	10	Burned on September 16th, 1903. From May 1st, 1904, to June 1st, 1905, has paid 33,942 piastres in taxes.
Biglitza . . . .	400	1,150	29,498 piastres	—	Has paid 21,500 piastres of taxes ( <i>beglik</i> ).
Batchevo. . . .	4	1,040	£T25	—	Even the refugees forced to pay tax. The other hundred and twenty houses plundered.
Gorno and Dolno Draglishtë	—	—	None	—	All the houses plundered and cattle driven off, most of the population emigrated.

The villages of the cazas of Gorno-Djumala which were burned or plundered were no better compensated. Thus at Eshlenitza 1,725 piastres were distributed, at the rate of 230 piastres per family and 115 to another family. Eight families alone were helped. At Sarbinovo 10 to 20 piastres were given to every person who had suffered—in all 650 piastres. At Bistritza 250 piastres were given to each of seven families—in all 1,750 piastres. At Kuklish, no relief was distributed for the reconstruction of burned houses. At Jervi and Gumendjé, only trifling relief was distributed in the way of food. To the proprietors of twenty-three houses burned at Pirin, the authorities only gave 200 piastres per head, and they collected the taxes. To the proprietors of eighty-nine burnt houses at Banitza the authorities only gave 170 to 200 piastres, although all household articles had disappeared in the pillage. It is interesting to note that this village, having been exempted from the taxes for the year 1903, was required to pay instead the taxes due for the preceding years.

Fire and ravage have not spared the vilayet of Adrianople. At Lozengrade, Vassiliko, Vegen, and Kutchuk-Tirnov, sixty-five villages were burned, forty of which were completely destroyed. The total number of houses burned exceeds two thousand five hundred. It was expected, after the pacification of the revolutionary movement, that this ravaged country would be relieved. But, apart from the rebuilding at the expense of the State of the Turkish village of Hadji-Talashman and of Turkish houses in the sea-coast villages, it can be unhesitatingly declared that the relief distributed to the Bulgarian families who returned famishing and homeless to Macedonia has only consisted of flour and biscuit enough for a few days. Besides this, there has been distributed to a hundred persons 15 piastres per head and £T1 to £T4 have been lent on security for a period of two years to four hundred families of the villages of Gramatikovo, Vurgari, Merzovo, Gheuk-Tepé, etc. In a word, the unfortunate Bulgarian population has been abandoned, as usual, to its own resources and to the generosity of foreign charitable societies.

Article 5 of the Turko-Bulgarian agreement touches a subject which had for several years been on the carpet. In the month of February 1899, the Sultan personally expressed to the Bulgarian diplomatic agent at Constantinople a wish to see concluded, between the two governments, an arrangement on the subject of the security of the frontier, in the same form as those concluded between the Empire and the governments of Servia and Russia.

The same year, with great earnestness, the Bulgarian Government elaborated a project which it handed to the Imperial commissioner at Sofia. A mixed commission, according to the project, should take in hand the delimitation of the frontier on the points in dispute. Bulgaria asked for its convocation with as little delay as possible; but the Turkish Government never gave any answer to this proposal, which it had itself called forth. It was only on March 20th, 1904, that the question came up again in the special arrangement concluded between the two governments. In virtue of Article 5, the two governments engaged to appoint a mixed commission to study and regulate all questions as to the boundary in dispute between the two governments. Among these questions, formally set forth in the final protocol, the first place is occupied by that concerning the measures to be taken on each side to ensure the inviolability of the frontier.

To carry out that clause of the agreement, each of the two contracting governments prepared a project, and two commissioners were nominated—General Hamdi Pasha for Turkey and General Andréeff for Bulgaria.

The Bulgarian commissioner travelled to Constantinople on April 14th, 1905. On the 23rd he transmitted to his Turkish colleague the counter-project of the Prince's Government in reply to the Turkish project handed in at Sofia a few weeks before. The protocol of a sitting of April 20th stated the agreement of the two parties for the adoption of the Bulgarian counter-project slightly modified. At the following sitting, nevertheless, the Turks brought forward a text so transformed that the Bulgarian delegate could not recognise his own project. Amongst other changes, the



second paragraph of the already accepted first article had been struck out. This paragraph was thus worded :

They [the two inspectors] will be equally charged (a) with examining and settling all questions about the boundary, and, with this aim, the two inspectors will take as basis the protocols, the maps, and the findings of the two commissions which had been charged to fix the aforesaid boundary; (b) with determining the place where pyramids and other marks should be erected.

This striking out of the most important passage of the project made the whole arrangement meaningless. Hamdi Pasha having declared that he had received no instructions from his government on the subject of this passage, General Andréeff replied that he could not continue negotiations. The same day, however, on the command of the Sultan, Hamdi Pasha informed the Bulgarian delegate that he was on his way to Sofia to sign the arrangement, whose first article was accepted in its entirety. But on arriving at Sofia on June 12th, Hamdi Pasha insisted again on the withdrawal of paragraph 2 of Article 1. The negotiations were broken off.

It was of the first importance that the settlement of the disputed points should precede the choice of measures to be taken in common to guard the frontier. If the Bulgarian Government has refused to sign an incomplete arrangement, it has not been for want of a sincere desire of pacification. The eagerness which it showed from 1899 on, the insertion of special clauses in the arrangement of 1904 to guard the frontier, and, finally, the preparations promptly made by it to arrive at that end, clearly demonstrated its sincerity. It cannot therefore be held responsible for the failure of the negotiations, which the Turks rendered impossible by their unwillingness and bad faith.

To finish with the Turko-Bulgarian arrangement, we may remark that according to Article 8 of the convention, the Bulgarians should have been eligible for the public offices of the country. This article has remained a dead letter. With the exception of two Bulgarian jurists, one of whom was appointed to the Court of Appeal at Monastir and the other to that of Salonica, no appointment has been made.

Towards the end of the year 1900, the Prince's Government concluded a customs arrangement with Turkey, in virtue of which certain products of the two States were exempted from import duty.

The revolutionary movement of 1902 and 1903 has had baleful results for Bulgarian commerce, in consequence of the annoyances to which the Turkish Government has subjected Bulgarian merchants travelling in Turkey, and of the difficulties thrown in the way of the importation of Bulgarian products. This state of affairs has not ceased, even after the arrangement of 1904, the sixth article of which formally provided for the return to the previous *status quo*—that is to say, the withdrawal of all exceptional measures taken with regard to Bulgarian merchants. Instead of conforming to that article, the Turkish authorities continue to arrest Bulgarian merchants as soon as they arrive in Turkey, and expel them as a police measure.

The annoyances caused by the police of Constantinople to the Bulgarian official envoys and high officials, such as M. Stoïanovitch, postmaster-general ; General Andréeff, inspector of the frontier ; Dr. Kojusharoff, medical attendant of the diplomatic agency at Constantinople, are unspeakable. The treatment suffered by those persons of mark gives an idea of the procedure employed towards merchants.

From time immemorial a great number of Bulgarian peasants of Macedonia used to go each year to Constantinople and to the neighbourhood of the capital, to earn their bread and that of their families who had stayed in Macedonia. Those humble workers, following different trades (principally those of gardeners and bakers), came from several Macedonian vilayets, but chiefly from the cazas of Kastoria, Florina, Resna, and Karlar, of the vilayet of Monastir. The Turkish Government put such obstacles in the way of their journey to Constantinople that the greater number could no longer continue to go there, and were delivered over to the blackest poverty, or forced to emigrate to America.

The following table shows how the conditions of existence of those unfortunates have been transformed :

*Went to Constantinople formerly:*

From the Caza of Florina . . . .	2,525 men.
"     "     Kailar . . . .	620 "
"     "     Kastoria . . . .	1,870 "
"     "     Resna . . . .	610 "
Total . . . .	<u>5,625 men.</u>

*Go to Constantinople to-day:*

From the Caza of Florina . . . .	313 men.
"     "     Kailar . . . .	84 "
"     "     Kastoria . . . .	338 "
"     "     Resna . . . .	339 "
Total . . . .	<u>1,074 men.</u>

The great emigration to America of the Bulgarians of Macedonia is the direct consequence of this state of affairs. In 1904 three thousand men of the vilayet of Monastir embarked at Salonica, nearly seven thousand embarked in 1905, and about fifteen thousand in the course of the spring and summer of 1906. There remain only women and children in a dozen villages of the caza of Florina. The emigration still continues. Such is the result of the policy of the Sultan and of the unfortunate attempt at European reforms: Macedonia is being depopulated.

## CHAPTER VII

### CONCLUSION

IT would hardly be necessary to undertake the study which we have just attempted of the reforms imposed by two Powers and superintended by Europe if, for one moment only, people would look the real facts in the face. These facts will be found collected and classified in the second part of this work. They will show what life is in Macedonia under the régime of the reforms of Muerzsteg. Civil war, isolated murders, plunderings, rapes, burnings—these are the staple of the daily chronicle. Every impartial observer, recognising that the situation has grown worse since the intervention of foreign Governments, will agree with us in the opinion expressed in our first chapter: that the Austro-Russian alliance, guaranteeing the *status quo* in the Balkans, has resulted principally in reassuring the Sultan as to the consequences of the crimes committed and encouraged by him. It is very difficult to believe that the two most interested Powers are pursuing a policy sincerely aiming at reforms, and not, rather, at the stifling of all reform. Otherwise, would they take the responsibility of a system which delivers over a population of honest peasants to massacre and to dishonour? Would they not recognise the uselessness of their efforts, and would they not try more efficacious means to make an impression on the butchers of Macedonia?

We ask ourselves, in consequence, if it is not playing the part of dupes to study the details of the application of a plan of reforms which is only a simulacrum destined to create a belief in good intentions that do not exist, and to get rid of other enterprises more sincere and more efficacious. But at least we shall have shown that it is only perforce and

as a response to the English and French initiative that Russia and Austria have undertaken definite tasks. Thus they have for a moment diverted the attention of Europe. But they will not divert it for long. Already in England there is a recrudescence of the agitation for the good of the tortured peoples which has more than once brought some slight relief to the misfortunes of Macedonia. The policy of Lord Lansdowne, which had not time to bear all its fruit before the fall of that ministry, seems to have been taken up by his successor. A member of the Liberal Cabinet announced recently that fresh English proposals were being sent to the European cabinets. Let us hope that they will be practical and efficacious, so as to put an end to the sufferings of a people whose death-agony Europe watches with a far too indifferent eye. But if anything can lead us to hope that the English initiative will be truly beneficial, it is the certitude that it has been inspired by the "Balkan Committee," whose intelligent philanthropy and well-informed spirit of justice we know.

There is one organ of the reforms on which we do not wish to be too severe, since it has not yet been proved ; we mean the Commission of Financial Control. We have seen above under what influences, and with what effort, Europe exacted from the Sultan the admission, under the name of counsellors, of the commissioners of the several States, and their participation in the work of the Macedonian budget. The very choice of some of these foreign counsellors is a guarantee of an earnest desire to bring to the administration of Macedonia the help of good sense, of logic, and of experience. The presence on the Commission of M. Steeg, whose reports on the finances of Macedonia have exercised a real influence on the plans of reform, is, in this connection, most reassuring. Nevertheless, the institution of the Financial Control must be regarded as most precarious and entirely provisional. In its present state it cannot endure, and before it can be entirely trusted we must wait till it has been enlarged and consolidated.

We need not speak of the possible rôle in the Commission of Hilmi Pasha, the president. Made Inspector of Reforms

in order to see that they fail, it would be strange if he showed himself more favourable to the Financial Commission than to the other organs of the Control. But since the commissioners have publicly praised him, it must be admitted that he has given proof of some good intentions. Nor shall we insist on the presence of Russian and Austrian civil agents in the Commission : we have defined their self-effacing rôle ; there, as elsewhere, it will be just what the representative of the Sultan wants.

But the evil comes not from persons ; it is, so to speak, organic, and once more, in presence of one of the creations of Europe in Macedonia, we have a right to ask ourselves if we are not contemplating a front behind which there is no house. The power of the councillors is limited to two years. What can be done in two years in the domain of public finance on ground where nothing has been found ready established, and where everything must be evolved out of nothing ? If even the representatives of the Powers were sure of having their commission renewed ! To obtain this commission, short-lived as it is, the Powers had to go to Mitylene. Will they go back there to get it prolonged ?

Renewed it would be, surely, with more facility if the work of the Commission was recognisably very efficacious. But can it be, in the conditions it is placed in ? There is a Commission of Finances and no finances ; a budget and no money. In financial matters, alas ! the organ does not create the function ; the Commission cannot invent resources where there are none. The first budget of Macedonia results in a deficit of 82,000,000 piastres. While the civil expenses are 84,500,000 piastres, the expense of the maintenance of troops amounts to 148,000,000. To get clear of this situation one of two things appears necessary : either the province should cease to support the expense of military occupation, which would fall much more justly on the shoulders of the central power, or exceptional resources should be granted to the commissioners. It was this last solution which was fixed upon, as if to avoid any infringement of the principle according to which Turkish troops live on the countries which they invade. It was believed

that in the extra customs tax there would be sufficient to cover a great part of the Macedonian deficit.

But now it is more than a year since this question of the 3 per cent. to be added to the Turkish import duty has been deliberated by diplomatists, and the Sultan has not yet been persuaded to issue the iradé which would fix the destination of the increases—which is as much as to say that the Powers have not been able to come to an agreement to force him to it. Several among them have pursued in that business their own commercial and political interest. And Macedonia may wait.

She waits for many other things. The reforms provided in the Muerzsteg plan, augmented by the initiative in the financial department, even if they were usefully applied, would be incomplete. There has been as yet no question of reforming the administration of justice. The courts remain free to undo by arbitrary decisions the little good which may be accomplished by the reformed gendarmerie. Nor has the police been looked into. Side by side with that gendarmerie which, in certain quarters, is tentatively enlisted in the service of a little more equity and humanity, the vile organs of espionage, the *agents provocateurs*, the prison-fillers of every kind, pursue their unclean business. Abdul Hamid being himself chief constable of his empire, it seems that no one will dare to lay a finger on a service which is thus in the hand of His Majesty.

Now, there is no blinking the fact: as long as those Macedonians who escape from death, from the soldiers let loose on them, and from the horde of Turkish, Albanian, and Greek bandits, are not secured against the baleful comedy of justice and against the enterprises of the police, nothing will have been done to save unhappy Macedonia from her sad fate, and the reforms will remain what they are to-day—the biggest hypocrisy of our time.

## **PART II**

### ***DOCUMENTS ON THE PRESENT SITUATION IN MACEDONIA AND IN THE VILAYET OF ADRIANOPLE***





## A.—THE MILITARY AND ADMINISTRATIVE REIGN OF TERROR

### I. MASSACRES, BURNINGS AND PLUNDERINGS

ON the 19th August, 1905, an officer at the head of a strong detachment arrived, towards midnight, at the village of *Konopnitsa*, caza of Palanka, where he found a few cartridge-cases. Concluding from this that a band of insurgents must be in the village, he ordered his men to fire on the houses. A carnage ensued. In a few minutes there were eight deaths: Iakim Stofanoff, the woman Stofana Anghelova, the little girl Ilinka Trafonova, the woman Dotana Mitreva, the woman Ilinka Traitcheva, her two children, and the woman Stoika Velitchcova. Seven persons were wounded—four women, two children, and a man. In consequence of this massacre, the authorities made an inquiry such as is only made in Turkey, and which resulted not in the punishment of the guilty, but in the arrest of three Bulgarians of Konopnitsa who had escaped them: Lazar, Vladan Petroff, and Christo Gheorghieff.

On the 28th August, 1905, the inhabitants of *Moghila* were awakened before dawn by a volley. Believing that some Greek band was surrounding the village, the villagers barricaded themselves in their houses. The first rays of the sun encouraged three of them to go out, but they had not left the village before they were killed by a terrible volley which revealed the concealed soldiers to the villagers. Then five other villagers risked their lives, but with more success. They succeeded in passing the ranks of the soldiers, and informed the civil agents at Monastir, who sent them to Hilmi Pasha.

At midday Hilmi Pasha sent fresh troops to Moghila.

These entered the village and tranquillised the inhabitants. An hour later, the inhabitants began to come out of their houses, when suddenly the trumpet sounded. This was the signal for a general massacre. All the villagers who had come out of their houses were shot down like game. The massacre lasted an hour. Another blast of the trumpet made it stop, when the officers saw the Italian officer Ciconini gallop up. The soldiers then arrested seven notables who had escaped the carnage and took them to Monastir. This massacre was committed by the troops as a punishment on the villagers of Moghila, because two months before the notorious brigand Shevky, the terror of the whole *caza* of Monastir, had been killed near this village.

In the morning of the 6th September, 1906, seventy to eighty men belonging to the 36th regiment of infantry entered, under the command of Lieutenant Ixan, the village of *Gorno-Rodevo*, near Vodena. The mayor, two notables, and two peasants were killed, as well as an old man of seventy, a child of ten, and another of four years. Two women and a child of four were wounded. The detachment afterwards plundered the village and beat the inhabitants.

Here are the names of the killed :

Tasho Dumoff, thirty-one years old, taken in the fields before the massacre while at work, bound, and slain in the village with refinements of cruelty.

Gheorghi Ivanoff, thirty-two years old, in the same case.

Petre Christoff, thirty-eight years, taken in the village and killed after torture.

Ivan Christoff, forty-five years old, killed under similar conditions.

Tasho Petroff, aged ten, killed by a blow from a yataghan before the door of his house.

Ivan Dervishoff, aged seventy, taken from his house and killed in the street by two rifle-shots and several blows of the yataghan.

The mukhtar (mayor) Kolu, killed similarly, after being tortured.

On the day after the massacre, a Russian officer, residing at Vodena, Mr. Bafraktaroff, went to make an inquiry, and ascertained the facts of the horrors which have just been recited.

On the evening of the 30th September a large number of soldiers entered the Bulgarian village of *Vrania*, caza of Melnik, and arrested all the men, to the number of eleven, returning from the fields. A child of fifteen years, attempting to flee, was shot. After committing this murder, the soldiers took the other peasants, numbering ten, to sixty paces from the village, and there, quite near the church, decapitated them.

After this atrocious massacre, the soldiers returned to the village, and breaking into the house of two rich peasants, the brothers Elias and Apostle Mitreff, put to death, after having tortured them in different ways, Elias Mitreff, his wife Gouda, and a little servant, and wounded the woman Milka, wife of Apostle Mitreff: thereafter they set fire to the house. Milka, who was unable to flee owing to serious wounds, perished in the flames. Her son, who had hidden on the roof to escape the flames, had to jump from a considerable height. He managed to escape nevertheless, after receiving three balls in the body from a volley fired by the soldiers while he fled. A woman who, hidden in a chimney, had witnessed this horrible scene, succeeded also in escaping certain death by jumping from a window as soon as the soldiers left the house. As for Apostle Mitreff, one of the masters of the house, he was at Melnik that evening, and it is to this circumstance that he owes his life. The soldiers left the village after taking with them another peasant, the aged Gheorghi Popoff, whom, at a certain distance from the village, they first tortured and then decapitated.

The village of *Vrania* is situated at half an hour's distance from the village of Catomitzi, where there is a garrison. The shots fired by the murderers were distinctly

heard in this latter village and the flames of the burning house were clearly visible, Vrania being built on a plateau, and nevertheless the officer commanding the garrison made not the slightest movement to ascertain what the shots and flames meant.

It was only on the day after that the unfortunate widows of the peasants who had been beheaded dared to go to look for the corpses of their husbands. They did not have to look far, as they were lying beside the little church. But while they were lamenting their fate, the soldiers of the garrison of Catomitzi came on the scene, dispersed them with blows of the butt-ends of their rifles, and, once masters of the ground, began to strip the corpses: they took purses and all other valuables found on them and overlooked by their companions of the night before. They even took the socks from those that had them.

Captain Bouvet, French officer of gendarmerie, ascertained the facts of this horrible drama on the spot.

In the month of February 1905 a strong detachment was commissioned to make a search in the village of *Stari-Grade*, caza of Keuprulu. The search once made, the soldiers, instead of leaving the village, installed themselves there and committed all sorts of cruelties on the villagers. At their departure they arrested six notables who had displeased them by their protests.

On the 8th February, 1905, four notables of *Grubevtzi* arrived at Salonica with the complaint that a Turkish officer, whose detachment had marched through their village, had caused them to be seized and subjected without cause to a terrible bastinado. After having thus put them in a wretched plight, the soldiers amused themselves by exposing them naked in the snow for three hours. These unfortunates bore all over their bodies the traces of this horrible treatment. The civil agents, the Russian general Chostak, the Consul-General of France, M. Steeg, the correspondents of the *Temps*, of the Agence Havas, and of *La Tribuna* of Rome authenticate this fact.

Some villagers of *Kostur*, caza of Palanka, whom the police suspected of sheltering a band, were mercilessly beaten by the soldiers. Three of them were examined by a doctor, who found marks of violence.

On the 12th February there was taken to Salonica, in a carriage, covered with skins, an unfortunate old man of the village of *Ilidjevo*, caza of Salonica, Athanas Rupan, who had been savagely beaten in the village of Menteshli by the captain of gendarmerie, acting on the order of the mudir. The civil agent Demeric and General Chostak instructed the Vice-Consul Bizilevski and Captain Poltonof to examine the injured man. They ascertained with horror that the whole body of the unfortunate septuagenarian was covered with wounds.

A pursuing body of sixty soldiers was sent, in the first fortnight of February, into the arrondissement of Vodena, to look for bands of insurgents. The soldiers took up their quarters first in the village of *Kumanovo*, where, having found nothing, they began to do violence to the peasants, and to take from them all the provisions they possessed. On their departure the captain who was at their head took the garment of a villager named Ghelo, and then caused him to be beaten. As the peasant made furious reproaches to the captain, the latter, at the crossing of a stream, made him carry all the soldiers one after another on his back, after which they beat him again until he fell unconscious. The brother of the unfortunate man was imprisoned because he dared to complain.

In the same month, in consequence of a denunciation, the soldiers of the village of Barbarevo, having called a hundred and fifty bashi-bazouks of Strassorovtzi to their aid, surrounded the village of *Stubol*, and arrested all the villagers. The prisoners were beaten and branded with red-hot irons, under the eyes of members of their families. Some old rifles were delivered up to satisfy the systematic and unjust suspicions of the agents of the Government. Nine notables, seized by the soldiers and dragged towards the prisons of

Kumanovo, were again beaten and tortured on the road. Several of them were so disfigured as to be unrecognisable by the eyes of relations who went to see them.

Atrocities of the same kind were committed at the same date in the villages of *Stronimandi* and *Pleshantzi*, to which detachments had also been sent.

On the 13th March, a soldier having been killed by persons unknown between *Strumitza* and the station of that town, a detachment of troops was commissioned to discover the murderers. As usual, the soldiers betook themselves to the nearest Christian village, Poptchevo, where, under pretext of making a search, they plundered a great many houses, with the help of bashi-bazouks. They beat several notables, and grievously wounded one and killed another.

The Russian Captain de Cimitierre, who visited the village, authenticated the outrages.

Deliu Deltcheff, of the village of *Kyrlichevo*, caza of Demir-Hissar, was met in the second half of the month of May by Colonel Hamid Bey, who, at the head of a pursuing detachment, was making a circuit of the country. On the order of the colonel the unfortunate peasant was taken by the soldiers and tortured till he died under their blows. His corpse was thrown over a precipice and covered with stones, after which the troop continued its march.

On the 20th June the yusbashi Ibrahim Effendi, with two lieutenants and a company of two hundred men, went to the village of *Kriva*, caza of Enidjé-Vardar, to look for *comitadjis* there. Having had search made in all the houses—which were sacked—and no *comitadjis* having been found, Ibrahim Effendi took revenge for his discomfiture on the villager Tano Ghelin, by having him beaten unmercifully with sticks; then he gave his men leave to rob the kitchen-gardens, which was done in the twinkling of an eye.

While passing through the village of *Barotvitza*, the soldiers left half beaten to death one Trafo Yaneff

Dingheroff. The victim made complaint to the calmacan of Enidjé. This complaint was accompanied by a certificate signed by a doctor.

In the same month of June, at *Perovo*, caza of Enidjé-Vardar, Lieutenant Ismaïl Effendi, of Gumendjé, accompanied by the gendarme Noussa, of the village of Grubovtzi, caused to be arrested the Bulgarian mukhtar Ivan Marcoff, and, in order to make him point out the hiding-place of some pretended *comitadjis*, he had him taken to the barracks of the village of *Grubovtzi*, and after having had him bound to a bench, caused him to be given sixty strokes on the soles of his feet. The unfortunate man was in a pitiable condition.

A detachment of soldiers, after maltreating, on the 15th August, a great many Bulgarians of the village of *Skotchivir*, caza of Monastir, carried off the villagers Gosh Petroff, Tzvetco Stoïkoff, and Athanas Seroff. Taken to the village of *Brod*, these three men were again tortured. The next day two of them escaped. The corpse of Gosh Petroff was found near the village of Kanali.

On the 18th August a detachment of soldiers, while passing through the neighbourhood of *Rakovo*, in the caza of Monastir, maltreated several Bulgarian peasants who happened to be on the road. Ivantcho Voïtchoff, rural policeman, and Risté Traïtchoff had their heads split open and had to be carried to the hospital at Monastir.

On the 5th October the Bulgarian notables Boris Ivan Lazaroff Todeff, Milan Kolchegoff, and Nicolas Mihoff, of the village of *Bansko*, caza of Razlog, were arrested at Mekhomia on the false information of several Greeks. Two days later, some soldiers charged with the escort of the two prisoners assassinated them and mutilated their corpses. Lazaroff's head was split open. The soldiers returned thereupon to Mekhomia and declared that, as the three Bulgarians had tried to escape, they had killed them. A Bulgarian gendarme who accompanied the soldiers gave the lie to this statement.



Major Hamid Aga, at the head of a detachment, surrounded on the 10th October, 1905, the village of *Tchiflik-Yeni-Mahalé*, caza of Serres, and under the pretext of looking for a Bulgarian band, made a rigorous search. Neither bandit nor anything compromising was found, but many peasants were maltreated; the eight following Bulgarians were confined to bed in consequence of blows they received: Gheorghi Timili, Thomas Timili, Anghel Taramine, Nicolas Angheloff, Ivan Dinoff, Dontcho Christoff Chakata, Ghelu Stoïanoff, and Nicolas Christoff Dulgher. A great many villagers took flight to avoid maltreatment. Some of the victims, having falsely declared, to escape torture, that they had given provisions to the *comitadjis*, fourteen other Bulgarians were arrested and imprisoned at Serres.

On the 18th November, 1905, a detachment numbering twenty soldiers, under the orders of Emin Effendi, commander-in-chief of the detachment of Moghila, attacked some Bulgarian shepherds of the village of *Gorno-Orizari*, at an hour's walk from Monastir. Under pretext that a revolver had been found not far from their flock, a weapon of whose existence the shepherds were quite ignorant, the soldiers felled with the butt-ends of their rifles Velian Passoff, Dimko Spiroff, and Ilia Traïtcheff. The unfortunate men were completely disfigured. Before leaving, the soldiers looted the house of Petré Taboff; they carried away his clothes and his provisions, the whole amounting in value to £T10. They took, besides, 20 piastres from Velian, 64 piastres from Ilia and two cloaks worth 120 piastres.

The population of the caza of Melnik, vilayet of Salonica, submitted, on the 9th November, 1905, to the French colonel of gendarmerie, Vérand, a long list of outrages against Bulgarians. Here are some extracts from it:

On the 9th October Captain Ali Effendi and Lieutenant Sadik Effendi, at the head of a detachment of twenty men, searched the village of *Debrené*. All the houses were turned upside down. As the soldiers found nothing com-

promising, their fury found satisfaction in laying hands on the Bulgarians Nicolas Dimitroff, Vassie Stankoff, Athanas Costadinoff, Athanas Stofanoff, Mengo Zlatkoff, Nico Antonoff, Nicolas Temelkoff, Nedeltcho Tasseff, Dimitri Antonoff, Ivan Kovatcha, Ando Zlatkoff, and Mitza Chontchoff, and after having unmercifully beaten them, so that the bodies of the unfortunates were simply one great wound, they gave them three days to reveal where their arms were hidden. The peasants complained to M. Bouvet, French officer of gendarmerie.

On the 25th October the Bulgarians Gheorghi Svechtaria, Manol Aglikine, and Iliate were savagely beaten by the soldiers: they complained to the military authorities, and the latter at once imprisoned them at Melnik; they remained for eight days in prison, and suffered the worst tortures.

On the 30th October some soldiers in garrison at the village of *Krania* laid hands on the Bulgarians Gheorghi Rahteli, Iliia, and Ivan, took them to their barracks, and subjected them to horrible tortures in order to make them say where arms were hidden. These unfortunates were tortured for five days; they came out of that barracks half mad.

On the 9th November were arrested and confined in the prison of Serres the priest Avram Stofanoff, of the village of *Belebeztshevo*, Gheorghi Dichoff, of the village of *Debrené*, and Kotcho, of the village of *Darjanovo*.

A military detachment commanded by an officer, and led by the mudir of Ostrovo, arrived, on the 19th January, during the night, at the Bulgarian village of *Rodevo*, caza of Vodena, and surrounded it. The next day, the day of the Orthodox Epiphany, all the inhabitants of the village, after having taken part in divine service, left the church in procession, the clergy and the cross at their head. It was the moment awaited by the soldiers to throw themselves upon them. An incredible affray followed; the cross was broken to bits by the soldiers, the priests knocked down and their vestments torn; as for the worshippers, they were struck with the butt-ends of muskets and dispersed. The officer

commanding the detachment had himself spilt the holy water on the ground. A number of Bulgarians were grievously wounded or bruised.

Three hundred and fifty soldiers and six officers appeared on the 11th March in the village of *Krushitza*, caza of Petritch, drove the women and children from their houses, and installed themselves in their place. The next day they searched the whole village to discover arms they said were hidden there. Finding no arms, they finished by beating and torturing all the peasants. Yanaki Mintcheff and Gheorghi Stanoeff were taken to the village of Tzaparevo and tortured in a terrible manner. Their heads were squeezed in tourniquets: then they were hung up by the feet and the soldiers lit fires under them. Finally the officers discovered, at the village of *Krushitza*, one thousand five hundred okes of corn destined for the tithe-gatherers; they caused this corn to be transported by their men to the seat of the mudirlik at Gorené.

On the 18th March an officer commanding twenty soldiers forced the village of *Veliushes*, in the same caza, to surrender to him thirteen thousand okes of corn destined for the tithe-gatherer, under the pretence that this corn had been hidden for a criminal purpose. His soldiers subsequently beat all the villagers with clubs and the butts of their rifles. The Bulgarians who suffered most were Mitré Stoianoff, Nicolas Vaskoff, Stoian Gheorghieff, Tasko Stoianoff, Apostol Petkoff, Anastas Trandafiloff, Anastas Apostoloff, and Vanghel Anastasoff. The latter appeared before the *caïmacan* of Petritch, to whom he showed his body covered with sores, the flesh bleeding, his calves and feet black and blue. No measures were taken to punish the officer.

A muliazim, accompanied by some thirty soldiers, went on the 28th March to the village of *Oblakovo*, caza of Monastir, and summoned the Bulgarians Risté Tzveteff, Bortcho Mitreff, the schoolmaster Grigore and the priest Dimitroff. When all these people were assembled before

him, he subjected them to an examination in order to find where were the *comitadjis*. As no one was able to reveal the hiding-place of the imaginary *comitadjis*, the officer caused the prisoners to be surrounded by his soldiers and declared he would take them to Monastir. But once outside the village, and arrived at the locality called Bela Perak, he caused them to be horribly beaten.

An officer commanding thirty-two soldiers and accompanied by two disguised bashi-bazouks entered on the 26th March the village of *Sleptché*. He summoned the mukhtar, Naoumtché Nicolas, and the notables Stephan Pope Tonoff and Nicolas Taleff, and ordered them to tell him where were two fugitives whom he was looking for. Now the village had given due information to the authorities of the departure of those two men. As for pointing out the *comitadjis*, the notables could not, not knowing of any. This reply not satisfying the officer, he caused the mukhtar to be bound and cruelly beaten. The two other notables were tortured in their turn so savagely that they could not bear the journey to the hospital. On his departure from the village the officer caused to be beaten till the blood flowed the Bulgarians Ioshé Gheorghieff, Tzvetan Grozdanoff, and Grozdan Toleff, who were seized by his men as they worked in the fields. The unfortunates had to be carried home in carts.

On the 11th May some ten soldiers surrounded the house of the Bulgarian Tzvetko, a nonagenarian of the village of *Robova*, caza of Strumitza, and, after having laid hands on the old man, forced him to summon his two nephews Athanas and Gheorghi Rotzelf, on the pretext of getting the latter to guide them to the houses of the mayor and of the priest. Athanas, on the way, perceiving that the soldiers were not taking the direction of the houses of the mayor and priest, fled as fast as he could run. The soldiers gave chase and succeeded in wounding him from a distance. Furious at the fugitive's escape, they cut off one of the old man's hands and then killed him ; his nephew Gheorghi was also killed.

*In the Vilayet of Adrianople*

In consequence of calumnious information strong detachments of troops entered, in January 1905, the village of *Merhamly*, and under pretext of looking for bands and for arms, committed unheard-of outrages and made many arbitrary arrests. The priest Gheorghieff was arrested and dragged outside the village, where he was subjected to all possible tortures in order to make him denounce the members of his flock; many other notables were also tortured. It was in order to avoid the recurrence of these atrocities that fourteen villagers preferred to leave their country and take refuge in Bulgaria.

The inhabitants of some twenty villages of the districts of *Gumuldjina* and of *Dedeagatch* and sixty villagers of *Orta-Keuy* also left their villages about the same date to take refuge in Bulgaria in consequence of fresh persecution, but, overtaken by the troops, they were forcibly taken home again.

On the 7th May, 1905, some gendarmes went to the village of *Guektché-Bunar*, caza of Orta-Keuy, where twenty-four arrests had previously been made. They sought for thirty-six other villagers. Of these they imprisoned four, the others managing to escape. In a rage the gendarmes took revenge on the women. The gendarme Gramek arrested the young woman Fota Pashova, whom the captain, Saïd Effendi, violated in the prison of Orta-Keuy. Other women, among whom was Paouna Volkova, were also arrested and violated. The houses of the fugitives were put under seals and their families expelled.

On the same day the brigadier Hussein and the Greek gendarme Panaïot went into the village of *Suwanly*, Thirty-three arrests had previously been made there. They intended to arrest seven more villagers, but the latter having fled, it was the women once again who had to suffer. A blind woman of seventy, Petrova, was arrested. The young woman Jana Anghelova had to flee, leaving her baby behind. Captain Saïd Effendi threatened to set fire to the whole village if the fugitives were not shortly delivered to him.

On the 25th May, 1905, a flying detachment of troops subjected to a severe bastinado all the notables of the village of *Tas-Tepé*, caza of Kirk-Klissé, because they had delayed to bring them provisions gratis as usual. The church of the village was turned into a stable by the soldiers.

The kodjabashi of the village of *Ispitli* and six young men arrested on the 2nd September, 1905, were beaten until several of them lost consciousness. Ivan Dimitroff, of *Kadikovo*, almost died under the blows. After this they were all sent to the prisons of Adrianople.

The priest of *Bashe-Klissé*, Gheorghi Mikharloff, and the kodjabashi of this village, Drako Stoïloff, arrested on the 7th September, 1905, were handed over to three gendarmes who were to take them to Demotika. The wretches were beaten all the way. The priest was besides required to walk with bare head and feet before the horses of the gendarmes. In the middle of the journey, the gendarmes bound him, gave him a hundred strokes of the rod on the soles of his feet, and hung him up to a tree, head downwards. He had to remain in this position for fifteen minutes.

Eighty soldiers, under the orders of a yusbashi and of a muliazim, entered, on the 24th December, 1905, the village of *Sitchanik*, caza of Gumurdjina, broke into eight houses belonging to Bulgarian notables, and drove out the inhabitants, after having maltreated them. The Bulgarians Topal Neïko, seventy-five years old, Delko Stoïkoff, Stavré Todo-roff, Gheorghi Starkoff, and Stoïko Dialnoff were unmercifully beaten. The soldiers installed themselves in their houses.

## II. BLOODY REPRESSION

Two Musssulmans having informed the authorities of Strumitza that a Bulgarian band was at *Kuklish*, a hundred soldiers and gendarmes with two officers were sent to this village, where they arrived on the 3rd February, 1905, early in the morning. The detachment made search in all the houses, and having found nothing suspicious, was on the point of leaving the village when it was surprised by some

rifle-shots from a house. The firing between the band and the detachment lasted until three o'clock in the afternoon; the band succeeded in escaping and taking refuge in a forest. Eleven soldiers were killed, fourteen soldiers and an officer wounded.

After the flight of the band the troops, reinforced by bashi-bazouks from the neighbouring Turkish villages, set fire to the village, killed several of the inhabitants, pillaged the houses, the church, and the school. Thirty-eight persons, among whom were two women and a child of ten months, were killed, five others wounded, and eleven women, a young girl among them, violated. Out of the hundred and five houses composing the village, sixty-four, as well as the church and the school, were set on fire with paraffin. All the other houses were pillaged and the beasts of burden driven off by the soldiers and bashi-bazouks.

This affair took place on the very day of the arrival at Strumitza of the new Russian officer, M. de Cimitierre.

At the inquiry, at which presided General Chostak with two other Russian officers, M. Petriaëff, deputy of the civil agent of Russia, and M. Kirschknop, secretary of the civil agent of Austria-Hungary, it was established that the band was composed of fifteen persons who succeeded in escaping into the neighbouring forest with no loss; the soldiers and bashi-bazouks set fire to the houses by means of paraffin; the church and school were first pillaged and then set on fire; all the beasts of burden of the village were driven off by the troops and the bashi-bazouks. The calmacan of Strumitza asserted that the houses were set on fire by bombs thrown by the band. The inquiry made by General Chostak showed that the Turks used paraffin to fire the village, and that the flames had commenced in the parts of the village the farthest removed from the house in which the band was. In order to shield their soldiers, the Turkish officers attributed the burning, the massacre, and the looting to the bashi-bazouks! Nevertheless, the commission of inquiry found horses and cattle belonging to the villagers of Kuklish both in the neighbouring Mussulman villages and in the barracks of the regular troops at Strumitza.

At the end of July 1905 a company of soldiers, accompanied by numerous bashi-bazouks, encountered near the village of *Ressovo*, каза of Tikvesh, the band of Dobri Dascaloff, numbering eighteen men. After a fight lasting ten hours, the band took advantage of the night to disperse.

The bashi-bazouks and the soldiers then threw themselves on the village of *Ressovo*, and set about destroying it by fire and sword. Scenes of unheard-of savagery took place, which the pen is powerless to describe. Bashi-bazouks and soldiers sprinkled the houses with paraffin, and all who came out were received with rifle-shots and thrown back into their blazing houses. An old woman of seventy, named Dena Stavreva Dikorska, severely wounded by a shot, was thrown into the flames and burnt alive. A young shepherd, taken and bound, suffered the same fate. The woman Eftima, who had succeeded in escaping to a certain distance, was killed by a shot, and her corpse brought back and thrown into one of the fires. Soon the flames spread to all the houses, the carnage increased everywhere; all the houses were first looted and women and children thrown from the windows; then these palpitating bodies, still throbbing with life, were thrown into the blazing houses. The bashi-bazouks amused themselves by getting together groups of fugitives, drenching them with petroleum and so making bonfires of them.

On the 6th April, 1905, the caïmacan of *Radovich*, vilayet of Kossovo, caused a house in the *Bulgarian* quarter of the town, in which were hidden three insurgents, to be surrounded by a company of soldiers and a considerable number of zaptiés. The siege having remained fruitless owing to the very energetic resistance of the besieged, the caïmacan gave orders, with the authorisation, it is declared, of Hilmi Pasha, to set fire to the house, which, after being plentifully sprinkled with petroleum by means of a fire-engine, was set on fire; seven other houses were burned on that occasion. The three insurgents succeeded, however, in escaping. The caïmacan thereupon gave the order to



pillage the Bulgarian quarter, an order which the troops and gendarmes, coming from far and near, as well as numerous inhabitants of the Mussulman villages, executed to the letter. More than fifty families lost all their belongings in this pillage, which lasted all night. Numerous arrests were also made among the Bulgarians, who were for the most part very roughly handled.

A Macedonian band had an encounter, on the 15th January, 1905, with Turkish troops in the village of *Lyng*, caza of Prespa. In consequence of this fight, the authorities arrested twenty of the notables of the village of *Lyng*, and all the notables of the village of *Ghennan*, in the same caza, the schoolmaster and some notables of *Borikovik*.

In the month of February 1905 a band of three insurgents was surrounded at *Kriveny*, caza of Resna. The insurgents, after having killed two and wounded three soldiers, fell under the Turkish fire. Thereupon the troops turned their rage upon the villagers, killing one and wounding seven. They then set fire to two houses, in one of which the householder, Christo Tyrneff, whom the soldiers prevented from coming out, was burned alive.

In consequence of a fight near *Gabreni*, caza of Petritch, between a detachment of soldiers and a party of twenty insurgents, ten notables of *Gabreni* were put in prison at Petritch. The proof which they furnished that at the time of the fight they were at the market of Novo-Selo, caza of Strumitza, was not sufficient to obtain their release.

On the 27th February, 1905, after a fight which took place in the village of *Bozetz*, caza of Enidjé-Vardar, between a band of insurgents and some soldiers of Grubevtzi, Gumendjé, etc., and bashi-bazouks of Ashiklar and Babakeuy, the soldiers assembled the peasants in the square and kept them there for thirty-five hours. Many of these unfortunates, beginning with the priest Dimitri, were horribly ill-used. Meanwhile, under pretext of making

search, the soldiers and bashi-bazouks rifled the houses. Fourteen persons were arrested and taken to Enidjé-Vardar.

After a fight with a band of insurgents near the village of *Cutlibeg*, arrondissement of Kumanovo, in the month of February 1905, the troops killed several peaceable villagers, among whom were an old man, two persons from Murghish, and the mukhtar of Cutlibeg.

Following a fight in the beginning of March 1905 with insurgents in the village of *Messimer*, каза of Vodena, the soldiers committed their usual acts of violence towards the villagers. Eleven notables were arrested, maltreated, and imprisoned at Salonica.

In consequence of a fight which took place on the 7th March, 1905, in the village of *Oleveni*, Monastir, between a band of insurgents and a party of fifty Turkish cavalry and gendarmes, the latter made their way into the houses of the villagers and pillaged them, even taking away from the looms the stuffs which the women were weaving. The soldiers besides attempted to violate four women. These outrages and the pillage have been authenticated by the Italian officers.

On the night of the 13th of the same month some insurgents, denounced to the authorities, were attacked in an inn at two hours' journey from Perlepé. After a desperate fight, the band cut its way out and escaped to the open.

The soldiers then threw themselves on the first Christians they met: they massacred the three keepers of the inn, a traveller, and a miller.

Before leaving the soldiers arrested five unfortunate peasants whom the Government pretended to be *comit-adjis*.

An Italian officer who went to the spot has ascertained these facts in all their atrocity.

In the same month of March, after a fight with a band in the village of *Dren*, caza of Perlepé, the soldiers killed the rural policeman of the village, a Bulgarian.

On the day following a fight which took place near the village of *Besvina*, caza of Prespa, during the same month, the soldiers went to this village, plundered it, and beat all the notables, imprisoning six. The prisoners, instead of being taken to Resna or to Monastir, were shut up at Kastoria, where it was easier to convict them.

A fight took place on the 25th March between an insurgent band and the troops near the village of *Hassanlievo*, caza of Doiran. After the fight, the soldiers, aided by bashi-bazouks, entered the village and plundered it. They beat all the villagers and killed a shepherd.

After a fight with the band of the chieftain Dimco in the village of *Bilianik*, near Monastir, on the 10th May, 1905, the soldiers burned several houses in the village.

A Turkish detachment, coming towards nightfall on the 24th July, 1905, to the village of *Pojarsko*, caza of Vodena, encountered some men of a band whose identity cannot be established. Shots were fired at these men, who escaped under cover of darkness. Then the soldiers arrived at the village, where they set fire to a granary and the stacks of fodder in the neighbourhood. Afterwards they entered the houses and took possession of all objects which they found to their liking. And, after having caroused, they violated some women and young girls.

A fight took place on the 10th June, 1905, near the village of *Sugarevo*, caza of Melnik, between a band of Bulgarians and the troops. The insurgents, after having killed eight soldiers, disappeared. The troops avenged themselves on the peasants, and killed four villagers, of whom two were from Sugarevo, and one from *Sushitza* named Janco.

On the 18th November, 1905, an encounter took place between a Bulgarian band, numbering eighteen men, and a

detachment of soldiers near *Starmosh*. The soldiers, after the action, set fire to the village of *Starmosh*, which numbers forty-five houses. Only two houses escaped the fire. The peasants, without shelter and entirely ruined, have had to take refuge in the neighbouring villages. The order to fire the houses was given by the brigadier-general, Ali Pasha, commanding the troops at *Kotchani*.

A strong detachment of soldiers surrounded, on the 18th May last, the village of *Lissolai*, vilayet of *Monastir*, where was the Bulgarian vojvode *Pedo* with ten men. A fight followed which lasted nearly six hours. At the end of the fight the soldiers managed to set fire to the tower in which the Bulgarians were: the latter were burned alive. The soldiers afterwards looted the house of the priest *Vassil Pope Gheorghieff*, and killed his father *Mikhaïl*.

### III. POLICE CRIMES

*Ivan Andoff* and *Pano Manghyroff*, the latter father of five children, inhabitants of the village of *Kavadartzi*, vilayet of *Salonica*, had been imprisoned at the time of a general arrest, then set at liberty for want of proof. But when *Andoff* came out of prison, the commissioner of police told him not to congratulate himself, nor *Pano Manghyroff* either, for his business would be settled in another way. Then addressing *Pano Manghyroff*, he told him he could not count on fifteen days of life.

In fact, this unfortunate person was killed on the 1st July at *Kavadartzi*, in his café, by men who came directly from *Konak*, and who murdered him under the eyes of the police and of the soldiers walking in the market-place. The murderers were able to retire quietly without being molested.

In the second half of July a detachment of troops received orders to make domiciliary visits in the village of *Zavoï*, caza of *Okhrida*. The under-prefect having received orders to be present at these operations, took the road from

Okhrida to Zavor, accompanied by a captain of the gendarmerie. On the way, he asked the villager of *Opeinitza*, Christo Nicoloff, to accompany him. But, shortly after, the party fell into an ambushade. To avenge himself for the risk he had run, the under-prefect killed with his own hand the first Christian whom he saw when the danger was over—his guide.

The Bulgarian notable Gheorghi Dimitroff Utoff figured for some time on the black list, drawn up by the Turks, of the village of *Volak*, caza of Drama. One day the tchaoush Kassim, of the regular army, stationed at Volak, tried to poison him. Utoff discovered this, and denounced Kassim to the police. By way of punishment, Kassim was merely transferred to the village of Prossotchan.

In the month of September Kassim, who had sworn vengeance, arrived with ten soldiers at the village of Volak, arrested Utoff, and caused him to be tortured by his men, subsequently taking him away with him, ostensibly to Drama. Arrived at a certain distance from the village, he shot his prisoner on the road. The wife of Utoff and two peasants, whom he had asked to follow at a distance, for he suspected the fate in store for him, saw everything. The murderer was not punished.

#### IV. STANDING PLOT AGAINST THE BULGARIANS

The following dispatches in cipher were exchanged between the 25th August and the 8th September, 1904, between the vali of Salonica, Hassan Fehmi Pasha and the catmacan of Melnik, Raouf Bey.

##### I

*Raouf Bey, catmacan of Melnik, to Hassan Fehmi Pasha, vali of Salonica*

MELNIK, 25 August, 1904, No. 192.

I have written you on the subject of the £T300 to be given to the trustworthy informer whom we have been able to find in their midst. He engages to place the bombs in several corners in their houses.

The spies are three, and have bound themselves in a special written

document to keep their promises. If they succeed, I promise you to re-establish peace and order in the whole caza in a short time.

Please send me as soon as possible the things asked for.

I await your orders.

The caïmacan of Melnik.

(Signed) RAOUF.

## II

*Raouf Bey, caïmacan of Melnik, to Hassan Fehmi Pasha, vali of Salonica.*

MELNIK, 29 August, 1904, No. 232.

The things asked for have arrived; they will be placed as soon as a favourable moment offers. But please send us the rest as soon as possible.

I await your orders.

The caïmacan of Melnik.

(Signed) RAOUF.

## III

*Hassan Fehmi Pasha, vali of Salonica, to Raouf Bey, caïmacan of Melnik*

SALONICA, 2nd September, 1904, No. 14897.

On the subject of the question referred to, have you not other persons besides Panalot Delevishli, Patrontcheto, Kotzé, Laskarovali Alexi, Ivan, Potyka Vraniali, the priest Stoïan, Temelko and Dimitri of Demirdji-Kol?

The twelve dynamite cartridges, the eight bombs, and the £T300 for which you asked for the destruction of the above-mentioned persons are ready to be put at the disposal of the informers. I advise you to act diligently, and not to postpone the business to another time.

The vali of Salonica.

(Signed) HASSAN.

## IV

*Hassan Fehmi Pasha, vali of Salonica, to Raouf Bey, caïmacan of Melnik*

SALONICA, 8th September, 1904, No. 14995.

I guarantee you a rich recompense for having undertaken and carried out the affair with the spies.

Act according to instructions given and send me by return of post the receipt for the things sent, as well as for the money which you will receive.

The vali of Salonica.

(Signed) HASSAN.

The first two persons cited in dispatch No. 3 were killed, and the bombs and dynamite have several times served to cause the arrest, condemnation, and imprisonment of innocent persons.

The police agent, Hassan Effendi, placed in the month of June 1905, near the village of *Ekshi-Su*, caza of Florina, three bombs, which he caused to be found by soldiers. Wholesale arrests and bastinadoes were the result of this manœuvre. Several notables could only avoid prison by paying considerable sums into the hands of the police.

On the 22nd October the same year a detachment of Turkish soldiers, commanded by two officers and led by the Bulgarian renegade Dimko Gheorghieff, a spy in the service of the Turks, entered the village of *Kalendra*, caza of Serres, and searched the houses of several Bulgarian notables. Holes were bored in the straw-ricks belonging to Dogno Sotiroff and Dino Paskaleff. To the stupefaction of the owners, a soldier's uniform and a Martini rifle were found there. The spy had hidden these compromising articles. Dogno Sotiroff was cruelly beaten and afterwards imprisoned at Serres. The soldiers arrested a great many villagers at random and ill-treated them; the notable Ilia Stotanoff was beaten frightfully, in presence of his whole family, who were forced to view that dreadful spectacle. A great many villagers fled to the woods. The spy Dimko Gheorghieff and his brother Sterio were receiving £T3 a month from the Greek metropolitan. They had on different occasions threatened to ruin this village.

Towards the end of 1906 His Excellency Hilmi Pasha had announced to the consuls at Salonica "that the Bulgarian committees were preparing new outrages, and that they had introduced into the town a large quantity of bombs and of dynamite." Nevertheless no bomb burst, no explosion of dynamite happened at Salonica or in the vilayet; but, in the course of the mysterious searches, the Turkish police managed to discover these explosives in order to have pretexts for new persecutions of the Bulgarians and their families.

The first bombs were discovered on the 4th December, 1905, under a bridge in the locality called *Zeitinyk*, near Salonica. In the packet there was also a letter from Sofia,

dated the 16th November, 1905, and signed "Manoleff." The police took advantage of the opportunity to arrest one Stavré, a Bulgarian notable of the village of Novo-Selo, caza of Salonica.

Some details should be noted in the letter in question : the letters of the Bulgarian alphabet which correspond to *j*, *tch*, and *sh*, and are wanting in the alphabet of the Greek language, have throughout been replaced by the letter *s*. This circumstance alone sufficiently shows from whom and whence came the letter and the bombs.

The Ottoman authorities attributed the letter to Ivan Manoleff, ex-teacher at the Bulgarian Catholic school situated near the spot where the bombs were found, and now school-master in Bulgaria. This man, having learned from the papers of this fabrication, immediately proposed to the Imperial Ottoman Commissioner at Sofia to present himself in person, either at Sofia or Salonica, to show his handwriting and prove that he was neither the writer of the letter found with the bombs nor the sender of these engines. On the invitation of the Ottoman commissioner, Manoleff presented himself on the 3rd March, 1906, and displayed his handwriting under the dictation of a functionary of the commissioner.

The deception having been recognised, Stavré was released on the 16th of the same month, after having suffered an arbitrary and rigorous detention of more than three months.

On the 31st December, 1905, the Turkish police discovered at *Salonica*, in the Boshnak-Han, eight bombs accompanied by eight letters. All these letters showed the same phonetic peculiarities as the letter attributed to Manoleff. The six Bulgarians whom the police had imprisoned on that occasion were therefore acquitted by the special tribunal of Salonica.

About the middle of the same month, the whole European press published the news that at *Demir-Hissar*, sandjak of Salonica, the police had discovered a bomb-factory, that they had seized a thousand bombs in it with a large number of



rifles, and other arms and munitions. What this affair really amounted to, and how it had been contrived by the authorities, may be gathered from the following :

On the 14th December, 1905, the authorities of Demir-Hissar effected a police raid in the inn of a Bulgarian, Ivan Milenkoff, and declared that they had found bombs wrapped in sheets of white paper in the mangers of his stable. It is important to notice that, in proceeding to this search, the police were accompanied neither by the mukhtar nor by the organs of authority whose presence is required by law in such cases. It was while acting in the same manner that the police found letters in cipher in the grocery store of the Bulgarian Ilia Bijeff.

Those two searches at Demir-Hissar were the prelude to those which took place successively in the villages of *Goren* and *Dolen Poroi*, *Hadji-Beylik*, *Keshishlik*, *Spatovo*, *Singhelovo*, *Raikoutzi*, *Petrovo*, *Yanovo*, *Krushovo*, *Goleshevo*, etc. They lasted a fortnight, and had the deplorable result of spreading terror among the peaceful Bulgarian population, the victims of the fabrications of the Turkish police and of the Greek *agents-provocateurs*.

Some details of these searches deserve to be recorded. Thus the pretended bombs were packed in the clean white paper which is used in the offices of the administration of the State.

The police paid particular attention at first to the grocer Bijeff, and offered him a sum of money if he would consent to declare that the Reverend Father Shumanoff, president of the Bulgarian community, was connected with the revolutionary committees. Bijeff and his brother Ivan were only arrested on the 30th December, when they had refused categorically to give the police the evidence demanded of them.

On the 12th December, two days before the searches, the inspector of the Greek schools of the vilayet arrived from Salonica at Demir-Hissar, where he was in continual touch with the local authorities ; on the very day of the search he left by the train for Salonica, and at every station at which it stopped he told to all who would listen the

news of the important discovery of the great arsenal of a thousand bombs. It is easy to understand, after this, how the news reached the journalists.

On the 21st January, 1906, the searches recommenced in the *caza* of Demir-Hissar. A police commissioner and an officer commanding a strong detachment of soldiers searched several houses of the village of *Saviak*, under pretext that there was dynamite hidden there ; having found nothing, they went to the house of the priest Dimitri, and on their very arrival, as if they knew beforehand the spot, made for a dung-heap in the court, from which, at the first stroke of the mattock, a packet wrapped in rags was laid bare. Without opening the packet and without any other formality, the police commissioner and the officer declared to the assembled villagers that this packet contained dynamite ; after which, they arrested the priest, his son-in-law Stoian Petroff, and his son Ivan, aged sixteen, and delivered them over to the special tribunal of Salonica, which condemned them to fifteen years' hard labour.

On the 16th February, 1906, a detachment of Turkish soldiers under the command of a certain Baïram Tchaoush instituted searches in the village of *Orlé*, *caza* of Perlepé. In the report of Baïram it was stated that the soldiers had found a bomb in the house of the peasant Traïko Kordoff, and a *procès-verbal* was drawn up in consequence, signed by the priest Dimitri of the village, and the two azas. Now, the signatories have declared before the tribunal that, in fact, they had been presented with an act to sign, but had been told that it concerned the regulation of the expenditure made by the soldiers. Besides, none of these witnesses who signed the *procès-verbal* had been present at the search. On his side, the accused, Traïko Kordoff, declared to the tribunal that Baïram Tchaoush, on arriving at his house during the night, had taken the bomb from under his coat, and having shown it to him, bade him follow, and had put him under arrest. This did not prevent the tribunal from pronouncing a sentence of fifteen years' hard labour on the accused Kordoff!

In a protest addressed on the 10th March, 1906, to Hilmi Pasha, the inhabitants of *Gumendjé*, vilayet of Salonica, enumerated the murders, outrages, burnings, and other crimes committed in their town; and mentioning the names of some of the delinquents, they asked that justice should be done. But their protest bore no fruit. Far from taking measures to guarantee the security of the inhabitants of *Gumendjé*, who testified thus to their perfect loyalty and claimed a strict application of the law against assassins and evil-doers, the Ottoman authorities found some days afterwards, in the following fact, a pretext for persecuting the Bulgarians: on the 20th March the police of *Gumendjé* discovered bombs in the Bulgarian school of that town, as well as in the unenclosed courts of two houses belonging to some Bulgarian notables. The bombs were in a basket covered and stitched up in canvas; among them was found a letter purporting to be signed by Apostol and addressed to twelve Bulgarian notables of *Gumendjé*. The basket was placed outside the school-building under a beam. The court of the school is unenclosed. Besides, it was noticed that the letter found in the basket was evidently written by a person to whom the Bulgarian language was unknown. Twenty Bulgarian notables and two young ladies were arrested. The judicial examination convinced the authorities that these bombs had been placed there by enemies of the Bulgarians. All the persons arrested were therefore set at liberty on the 14th April. This fact has officially demonstrated that at *Gumendjé* there are people who have bombs and dynamite at their disposal and use them for political ends to compromise the Bulgarians.

During the night of the 18th January, 1906, the Servian agents of the village of *Zletovo*, caza of *Kratovo*, threw a bomb into the garden of the house of a rich Bulgarian notable, Athanas Kostoff Abaza, of the same village. After the explosion of the bomb, some soldiers, accompanied by their chief, arrived on the spot, and found at the place where the bomb had burst some cartridges for the Männlicher rifle. Outside the garden and quite near the sheep-

fold of Athanas Abaza, the soldiers also found cartridges, and in the sheepfold itself a bag full of letters written in Bulgarian, in which the Bulgarian committees were mentioned and a certain number of Bulgarian notables of the village. The aim of the Servians was to make the authorities believe that Athanas Abaza had given asylum to a Bulgarian revolutionary band, which, on the explosion of the bomb, had fled, leaving behind its cartridges and the bag of letters. The local authorities proceeded to arrest Abaza and his son, as well as twenty Bulgarian notables, among whom were the teacher and the priest. All the accused were transferred to Uskub, and imprisoned. Nevertheless, the judicial examination proved that the author of this device was the Servian teacher of Zletovo, with the complicity of two Servian agents and of the Turk Mahmud Sali. Therefore, in the hearing of the case on the 26th March, the special tribunal of Uskub returned a verdict of acquittal; but the really guilty persons were not molested, and, made bold by this impunity, they killed the Bulgarian priest of Zletovo a few days afterwards; and this crime remained equally unpunished, in spite of the complaints made to the local authorities.

A Servian sympathiser in Kumanovo, wishing to contract a fourth marriage, applied for certain dispensations not admitted by canonical law. Not being able to obtain these dispensations, he wished for revenge, and denounced the chiefs of the Servian bands to the Turkish authorities, and indicated the places where they hid rifles and dynamite. In consequence of this denunciation, the caïmacan of Kumanovo asked the vali to authorise him to proceed to a search; and before receiving the order, he went first to the cabinet of the vicar of the Servian bishop, where he found a bomb with a letter, and afterwards to some Servian houses, where he seized three rifles and six helmets. The Servians whose names figured in the letter were at once arrested and taken to Uskub, but released six days after. Here are the words of the discharge which justify the setting at liberty of the accused: "After the examination

and other formalities, the accused denied all knowledge of the letter, and declared that the bomb and the other compromising articles must have been placed by a third person with a view to casting suspicion on them. Moreover, the facts known to the Court not being of a nature to prove the culpability of the accused, from these motives we order that the said accused be set at liberty." This affair, compared with the preceding, deserves all the more attention as the Servians were discharged because the evidence was insufficient, whereas the Bulgarians were acquitted after a prolonged imprisonment and after a regular trial.

With the exception of two—those of the villages of *Orlé* and *Saviak*—all the trials concerning bombs and dynamite ended in the acquittal of the accused, and were followed by petitions which the inhabitants of the towns and villages addressed to the Inspector-General asking for the punishment of the authors of the frauds. These political trials have brought to light two facts: first, that the bombs and the dynamite were used with the purpose of provoking rigorous measures against, and prosecution of, innocent Bulgarians; second, that the law and the police will not punish the authors of those criminal plots.

## V. THE SEARCHES

The mudir of Gumendjé, accompanied by an officer of the detachment of Barovishté and by a strong squadron of soldiers, went, on the 9th December, 1905, to the village of *Kriva*, caza of Enidjé-Vardar. The first house searched was that of the peasant Stoïcho Stoïtcheff; nothing suspicious was found. The owner was nevertheless beaten so furiously that he was left dying on the floor. Officer, mudir, and soldiers went off taking with them all the household effects of any value.

The second house searched was that of the brothers Tano and Constantin Djentcheff. This time, the men not being there, it was an opportunity for the soldiers to maltreat the wife of Tano. The unfortunate woman, eight months gone

with child, fell in a faint, and the soldiers went off with a large booty of furniture, clothes, and household articles; they even took an ornament which the woman wore, valued at £2 10s.

The same soldiers searched, under similar conditions, the houses of Ivan Melioff, Mitzé Kiosseff, Anton Tchontoff, Sano Popoff, Christo Mitroff, and Kitré Korkoff. All these Bulgarians, after having been bound and maltreated without giving reason for the slightest suspicion, were incarcerated in the prison of Enidjé-Vardar. Some women went on the 14th December to claim from the calmacan the household articles, clothes, furniture, and jewellery which the thievish soldiers had taken from them.

On the 28th January a detachment of soldiers entered the village of *Libavo*, caza of Enidjé-Vardar, to make searches. The first visit was to an old Bulgarian woman, named Zlata Chatanteva; no arms were found in the house, but the soldiers discovered £T4, two napoleons, and eleven piastres in small change, which they appropriated; then they arrested eleven peasants, subjecting them to a cruel bastinado, and took them to the prison at Gumendjé, where the unfortunates were again horribly ill-used.

Eight peasants of *Gugovo*, caza of Vodena, went on the 13th March last to Vodena to borrow money. In the evening, when they were all met together in an inn at Vodena, an officer of gendarmerie arrived, accompanied by two soldiers. The officer pretended he was commissioned to search the peasants and make sure they carried no prohibited arms. Two men were left alone, but a third had in his purse the money which he had just borrowed. The soldiers tried to take it from him, but he resisted energetically, and managed, after a violent struggle, to escape with his money. An old Bulgarian priest was not so lucky, being deprived by the soldiers of the sum of £T25 which he had about him, borrowed money, destined by the priest for his son, who was going to America. The bandits, after having seized the money, threw a medjidié<sup>1</sup> at the priest.

<sup>1</sup> Turkish coin, value 23 piastres, about 4s.

The innkeeper and seven peasants complained to the authorities, but no measure was taken against the thieves.

On the 19th January, 1905, the police of *Keuprulu* instituted a search in one of the Bulgarian schools of that town, where they seized some school-books and the registers.

The police did not conform to the law; they acted without giving notice to the Bulgarian archbishop and without summoning the mukhtar, whose presence is required by law and custom.

On the 17th May, 1905, the authorities of Monastir made a search in the Bulgarian church of Sveta-Nedelia at Monastir. A little hatchet used for cutting trees, an old flint gun, and three ramrods, which must have been used several centuries ago to load pistols, were found in the room of the sexton. Immediately a *procès-verbal* was drawn up, in which it was stated that these arms had been found under the floor of the room, although the room never had a floor. This same *procès-verbal* expatiated on an explosion which took place some days before at the house of Dimé Beïcoff. This had nothing at all to do with the search.

Five gendarmes were charged with guarding the monastery of Sveti-Vratch, near the Bulgarian village of *Olishta*, caza of Kastoria, vilayet of Monastir. On the demand of the metropolitan of Kastoria, the caïmacan recalled the gendarmes at the approach of Easter. Three days before the festivals the gendarmes departed, and immediately the Greek bishop replaced them by five "antarthés."

One day of May these antarthés and the kavass of the Greek bishop, Selim, accompanied the muliazim of Kumanitchevo, who, at the head of fifteen soldiers and a large number of bashi-bazouks, betook himself to Olishta. There all these people began to search. The result was a systematic pillage of the houses of Timian Yancoloff, Vangel Kuleshkoff, Christo Tzufaleff, and of the priest Nicolas Shumoff. The next day the soldiers and brigands, before leaving, forced the villagers to sign a declaration in

which they acknowledged they had no violence to complain of.

On the 8th December, 1905, a detachment of soldiers, in garrison in the village of Dragoshani, went during the night to make a search in the house of the Bulgarian Yordan Stefanoff, of the village of *Obarshani*, caza of Monastir. No compromising article or document could be found. Nevertheless, the officer who commanded the detachment caused the arrest of the mayor, Ivan Ivanoff, and of the Bulgarian notables Tané Hadjieff, Nedelko Tasseff, and Bogoya Tasseff. All three were imprisoned at Monastir.

During the month of May last a marriage was celebrated in the village of *Krupishta*, caza of Kastoria. All the notables of the locality were gathered together in the house where the wedding was taking place. The Greek committee then had the idea of placing a large bomb in the stable situated under the room where all the people were. Happily the bomb did not burst until a minute after the departure of the company, and there was only material havoc to regret. The authorities, forced to notice this case, at once instituted searches, but in the houses of the Bulgarian notables! Naturally the astonishing tactics of the Ottoman police resulted in giving the Greek committee time to destroy all traces of its share in the outrage.

## VI. THE EMPLOYMENT OF BASHI-BAZOUKS

A detachment of troops, under the command of an officer and of the famous brigand Shevky (since killed), entered the village of *Oblacovo* on the night of the 25th March, 1905. The soldiers immediately locked up all the men and began to plunder the houses and violate the women. At the end of twelve hours they left, loaded with booty, and dragging behind them ten notables, who were thrown into the prisons of Monastir. A complaint was sent to the civil agents.

The same operation was carried out in the villages of *Rashtani*, of *Moghila*, and of *Kukuretschani*.



The village of *Rapish* was visited last. All the houses were pillaged, several women violated, and eleven notables sent in a pitiable state to the prisons of Monastir.

In the same month the peasants of the villages of *Drenoveni*, *Tchernovishté*, and *Posdovishita* complained to the calmacan of Kastoria and to the mutessarif of Goritza of a certain Sefedin Effendi of the village of Sv. Nedelia, who has always accompanied the troops in their rounds. The terror was such that the men dared not attend to their business or the women leave their houses. Those who had the ill-luck to meet Sefedin were maimed without cause, as was the case of the rural policemen of Kossinetz, or killed, like the old man Athanas, of the village of Gabresh. The complaint remained without result, nevertheless.

Eight notables of the village of *Sovitch*, caza of Florina, were beaten in the course of a search made by the famous brigand Mouto during the month of April 1905. Several among them went to Monastir and showed their sores and crippled limbs to the consuls.

In the same caza another former brigand, now an officer of gendarmerie, Moussa Aga, committed similar atrocities. During a round of the Christian villages he committed a number of cruelties at *Nevoloni*, *Bukh*, *Armensco*.

At Bukh, on the 23rd April, he caused all the men to be shut up, after which all the houses were looted by the troops and bashi-bazouks, all the women searched and stripped, and several of them violated. At *Armensco* the next day the same thing took place. In addition, seven notables were arrested and sent to Florina.

On the 1st May he made a fresh search in the village of *Nered*. It had no further results than the preceding ones, except that the soldiers shot two peasants, and whipped all the villagers to make them declare that the two victims were *comitadjis*.

On the 23rd April, 1905, seven Vlachs who were carting rice were encountered near the village of *Saramsalino*, caza of

Ishtib, by some bashi-bazouks. Two of them were killed ; the others stripped of all they carried.

On the same day four workmen, masons of the village of *Opila*, каза of Kratovo, fell in with bashi-bazouks, who fired on them. Some soldiers who heard the shots ran to the spot, seized the unfortunate masons, and beat them, accusing them of being *comitadjis*.

On the 9th October last year bands of bashi-bazouks, guided by former brigands, searched the villages of *Puturovo*, *Ezarnitchani*, *Alintzi*, *Moïno*, *Orlé* (caza of Perlepé), *Budakovo*, *Meglentzi*, *Dalbegoftzi*, *Bilianik*, and *Negotino* (caza of Monastir). The bashi-bazouks feasted for three days, and went off threatening to return and burn all the houses.

A band of twenty Bulgarians of the village of *Batchevo*, каза of Razlog, being in the communal forest of Sarvanitza, occupied in cutting wood with the sanction of the calmacan, were attacked, in the month of March last, by a strong band of bashi-bazouks, commanded by the Turkish mukhtar, Maïre Baki, a brigand dreaded for his cruelty. The wood-cutters—Panaïot Todoroff, Vitan Nicoloff, Dimitre Pavleff, Spas Serafimoff, Kosta Pope Stoïanoff, and Ilia Nicoloff—were beaten and tortured.

## B.—JUDICIAL ANARCHY

### I. ARRESTS

AT the end of 1905 a Bosnian of Sarajevo, named Fragno Becker, who had entered the service of the Turks as a spy, caused the arrest of so great a number of Bulgarians of the villages of the *caza* of Palanka and at Palanka itself that there reigned in that region a perfect panic. Pretending that he had arrived on the 24th October at the village of *Mosdiviak*, with a Bulgarian band commanded by a certain Ilia, the spy denounced the Bulgarian notable Stefko and two other Bulgarians, whom he declared to be in relations with the imaginary band. These three men were cruelly maltreated for having refused to denounce their accomplices.

Later Todor Takimoff, of the village of *Martinitza*, was arrested, on information of the same spy, and beaten in the open street before a great number of villagers. The end of the story was that all were imprisoned. On that very day a detachment of soldiers, accompanied by Fragno, wearing military uniform, arrested, in the course of its excursion, Father Serafin, priest of the village of *Psatcha*, and two other Bulgarians of the same village.

On the 27th October eight Bulgarians were imprisoned, after having been tortured. The arrests multiplied ; they attained the number of forty-five, and all these unfortunate people were in a lamentable condition.

An individual named Petre Stolanoff, who for over a year had belonged to a Bulgarian band, having declared himself a Servian in consequence of disagreements with his comrades, went to the Turkish post at the village of *Liubantzi*, *caza* of Uskub, and denounced a great number of Bulgarians, with whom, he said, he was in relation. This

denunciation, without proofs to support it, and coming from a bandit, sufficed to cause the imprisonment of the Bulgarian notables Ivan Batchevanoff, Todor Nicoloff, Nedco Stalkoff, Storlko Stefkoff, Atzo Spassoff, Nedelko, the teacher Bogin Christoff, the teacher Dimo Ganoff, and twenty-two other Bulgarians.

On the 13th March the Bulgarian priest Stephan Mikharloff, of the village of *Zletovo*, caza of Kratovo, disappeared, near the Turkish village of Rudaro. Witnesses had testified that this priest had been captured by Turks ; but the authorities, instead of taking account of this testimony, arrested the Bulgarian teachers of *Zletovo* and *Dobrevo*, Messrs. N. Yanakoff and Ilia Ananieff. The priest Vassil Dimiroff and twenty-five other Bulgarians were also arrested.

Two Bulgarians having been assassinated during the month of April in the market town of *Bansko*, sandjak of Serres, the authorities arrested over thirty Bulgarians of this town and of the neighbouring villages. Such a panic ensued that more than thirty other villagers took flight. The military authorities at once dispatched soldiers on their track, and as it was impossible to come up with the fugitives, the soldiers, furious, killed on the road on their return journey two Bulgarian agriculturists as well as the shepherd Gheorghii Todoroff Tcholo.

In consequence of false information that a depot of arms existed at the Bulgarian college, the police of *Salonica* made, on the 21st and 22nd July last, numerous arrests among the teachers and Bulgarian notables of *Salonica*, after which a minute search took place in the school without having any result. Among the arrested was the director of the boys' college, M. Tchengheleff ; the director of the girls' college, M. Taneff ; the teachers Racoff, Batandjief, Matzanoff, Sapunaroff, Naoumoff ; the Bulgarian notables Bacaloff, Mirtcheff, Montcheff, etc. Domiciliary visits were made in the houses of all the well-known men, the result being in every case negative, except in the house of Matzanoff, where a note-book was found containing compromising

matter, according to the police. Now this note-book denoted an unsettled mental condition, to say the least, of the writer (Matzanoff has since been sent as insane to the hospital of the prison). Thanks to this note-book, all the arrests, except two or three, have been maintained, and other arrests even, outside Salonica, have been ordered. Thus M. Philipptcheff, teacher in the school at Salonica, who was at Vodena on account of ill-health, was taken to Salonica and thrown into prison. Another teacher, Sreben Petroff, was brought from the vilayet of Kossovo.

Only in the second half of August were some of the prisoners released. Nine teachers and some notables have appeared before the special tribunal.

Three Turkish brigands, trying to enter the village of *Nered*, caza of Florina, on the evening of the 18th February, 1905, the Turkish inhabitants of the village repulsed them and killed the famous Haireddine, of the village of Mahala. This man was guilty of more than thirty murders of Christians in recent years. As this fact was of public notoriety, the Government took advantage of it to attribute the murder to the vengeance of the Christians. Numerous detachments of troops were sent into the neighbouring Christian villages, where they committed unheard-of atrocities, beating the men, violating the women, looting the houses. Finally the soldiers left, taking with them thirty-nine prisoners: ten from *Nered*, twelve from *Crapeshtina*, eight from *Laghen*, seven from *Gorno-Kotori*, and two from *Dolno-Kotori*. Although there was not the slightest evidence of guilt against these unfortunates, none were released.

A Bulgarian of *Tetovo* having been found carrying some bombs, eleven notables of that town were arrested without any proof of their guilt. The prisoners were all horribly mutilated on several occasions.

In consequence of a quarrel which arose at the village of *Knivogashiani*, caza of Perlepé, between a Bulgarian and an Ottoman Servian, the local authorities imprisoned the victim,

a certain Risté, and the Bulgarians Koté Petroff, P. Koteff, R. Tashkoff, I. Taleff, M. Janakeff, and Bogor Janakeff.

In the evening of the 5th June, at Monastir, a person unknown having fired on the Patriarchist Mito Gheorghieff, who was very slightly wounded, the alarm was given, and all the Bulgarians encountered in the street arrested. The teacher Anton Dimitroff himself, a quiet and inoffensive man if ever there was one, was imprisoned.

A villager of *Slatino*, caza of Okhrida, Ivan Taneff, was arrested, in the month of February 1905, for having taken part in the insurrection of 1903. As the unfortunate man had been amnestied for this offence, and possessed a certificate signed by the vali of Monastir, he showed it to the mudir and demanded to be released. But the police would not listen, pretending that the amnesty must have come from the local authorities and not from the Governor-General. And they sent Ivan to Okhrida, whence he was taken to Monastir. He passed several months in the prisons of that town, under the very authority which had pardoned him.

The examining magistrate of Florina issued, in the month of April 1905, a warrant of arrest against four Bulgarians of the village of *Zelenitché*, whom he accused of having taken part in the taking of *Nevesca* during the insurrection of 1903. Yet this offence came under the amnesty.

In consequence of the murder of a Greek spy of Monastir, Mirtcho Tanti, the police arrested the Bulgarian notable Danaïl Rizoff, who was severely wounded, in the month of March 1905, by a Greek. The police held Danaïl Rizoff to be the instigator of Mirtcho's murder because he had been one of his victims!

Three Greeks entered the shop of M. Zerdeff, a Bulgarian merchant at Monastir, on the 25th June, 1905. One of them had taken a revolver from his pocket and was about to kill M. Zerdeff, when the latter's servant struck him on the head with a stick. The aggressors fled. The police, being informed

of the matter, arrested the servant and did not prosecute the authors of the outrage.

In consequence of a murder committed in the month of June 1905, at Monastir, the police tried to arrest Mikhail Thodoroff, whom they suspected to be the murderer. Not being able to find him, they arrested his father.

The Bulgarians Costa Panoff, Zafir Gheleff, Stortché Stantchoff, and Mitré Zafiroff, of the village of *Adjarlari*, vilayet of Kossovo, were incarcerated in the prison of Uskub because a rifle was found in July 1905, near the village of *Adjarlari*, where they lived.

On the 30th March the police arrested and imprisoned at Uskub the Bulgarian teachers Ivan Dimitroff, of the village of *Russinovo*, caza of Pechtchevo, and Vassil Drakaloff, eleven Bulgarian villagers of *Berovo*, same caza, and the Bulgarian Gavril Raleff, of *Pechtchevo*. The next day the priest Arseni, curate at Pechtchevo, was also arrested, and the day after it was the turn of the Bulgarian nun Xenia.

The cause of these arrests was, it seems, the discovery made by the police during a search of a Männlicher rifle, two bombs, a certain quantity of cartridges, and compromising letters in an unoccupied room of the house of the Bulgarian Lesso Raleff (arrested before the search).

The letters in question, by their style and by the errors in orthography which they contained, betrayed a Servian hand. As all the arrested Bulgarians were accused in these letters of having committed murders and thefts, that was sufficient to cause their imprisonment. Nevertheless the police authorities could easily have found the originators of this trap, for the Servian band which was operating in that district, after having cut the telegraph wires between Pechtchevo and Strumitza, had hung on a telegraph pole two letters of the same nature, tending to compromise still more seriously the Bulgarian Lesso Raleff.

The Bulgarian Tzvetan Toleff, of the village of *Ivantsi*, caza of Monastir, while returning on the 3rd April from

market, was attacked by the Turk Adem, of Perlepé. This man threatened to kill him if he was a Bulgarian; and as he was about to strike, Toleff cried out that he was a Greek. Thereupon the brigand contented himself with taking his purse, which contained 40 francs. Tzvetan Toleff complained to the authorities, but the latter, instead of prosecuting the evil-doer, imprisoned the victim, to punish him for having calumniated a respectable Turk.

In the month of October 1905, the Greek priest of *Krushevo*, caza of Serres, Ivan Dortchinoff, and the Greek teacher Pericli were murdered; on the 20th April, 1906, the Ottoman authorities caused the arrest of the following Bulgarians: Ivan Mihoff, of the village of Gherman; Ivan Todoroff, of the village of Eleshnitza; Tané Christeff, of Tzarevishta, Mito Latchoff, Dimitri Bojnicoff, Nicolas Mihoff, Zaharia Koleff, Tané Poliakoff, and Ivan Detchoff, of the village of *Krushevo*. All these people were accused of having murdered the two Greeks; on the 15th May they were sent to Salonica to be tried. The accusation against them was based on the false evidence of Greeks of Serres and *Krushevo*. To get together this group of false witnesses had taken seven months. Yet the court accepted their evidence.

On the 5th May, some Albanians severely wounded with rifle-shots two Bulgarians of the village of *Yanovo*, caza of Demir-Hissar, and the Bulgarian Stortchko Gheorghieff of the village of *Kovatchevo*, caza of Melnik. The inhabitants of the village in the neighbourhood of the place where the crime was committed complained to the authorities and pointed out the aggressors. This complaint caused the authorities to arrest four Bulgarian children, from ten to eleven years old, eight other Bulgarians, and the school-teacher of the village of Mantchevo. All were cruelly beaten for having denounced the Albanians.

On the 18th May Ivan Petroff, a Bulgarian notable of Monastir, was severely wounded, while returning home, by a shot fired by an associate of the Greek committee; his



kavass, an Albanian, pursued the murderer, and fired on him at the moment when he was seeking to hide in the house of a Greek teacher. Unfortunately the teacher was mortally wounded. As the kavass took to flight, his master, M. Ivan Petroff, was arrested in his place.

The Bulgarian Peter Nicoloff, of *Rupel*, caza of Demir-Hissar, was assassinated on the 16th June by associates of the Greek revolutionary committee. The authorities at once arrested the priest of the said village and five other Bulgarians.

The woman Christena Hadji-Mitova, of the village of *Krushevo*, caza of Demir-Hissar, and the girl Athina Dimitrova, of the same village, were killed by the Greek Stoil Andonoff while working in their field. The murderer was recognised by the husband of Christina, who was the first to be aimed at, and by the girl Maria Ivanova, who was working in the field at a little distance from the victims. In spite of this incontestable evidence, the authorities arrested the Bulgarians Spiro, Ivanoff and Damian Straveff, whom the assassin declared to be the real culprits.

The Bulgarians Spas Illieff and Mita Kepoff, of the village of *Savek*, caza of Demir-Hissar, were returning from Serres on the 19th June when they fell into an ambushade of Turks. The authorities, informed by the inhabitants of the village of Savek, instead of pursuing the Turkish assassins, put under arrest the Bulgarians of this village, Dina Mazan, Stolan Gatchoff, Nicolas Tchepershoff, Spas Manoleff, Constantin Pantazieff, and Stolan Biskoff.

### *In the Vilayet of Adrianople*

In the course of the month of February 1906 some men were seized who belonged to a band of Bulgarian brigands infesting the western district of the vilayet, under the command of Tanu Nicoloff and Arnaudoff, two common bandits, since captured in Bulgaria. The Government made

a political matter of this affair, which attained unheard-of proportions. Detachments of troops were sent out without delay into the principal villages of the cazas of *Orta-Keuy*, *Dimotika*, *Sufu*, *Dedeagatch*, and *Gumuldjina*, in which, beating, torturing, and committing all sorts of violence, they made more than three hundred arbitrary arrests. Among the prisoners were women, children, and helpless old men.

In the village of *Arnaout-Keuy*, caza of *Orta-Keuy*, all the well-to-do inhabitants were arrested without distinction. One only, Paris, succeeded in getting away by immediately paying down a large sum. Horrible outrages were committed by the soldiers. The greater number of the houses were sacked, women were violated and beaten.

At *Dolno-Suvanli*, the woman Gheorghieva had her ornaments torn from her neck, and was afterwards assaulted with blows from the butt-ends of rifles for having demanded back her necklace.

The prisoners were all mercilessly beaten in their villages as well as on the road. They were subjected to a bastinado in the prisons by order of the examining magistrate. Several of them bore the marks of it for a long time.

Arrests were made in the following places in the month of April:

District of *Orta-Keuy*: twenty-seven persons of the village of *Guektche-Bunar*, among them the mayor, the priest, his father, and all the notables; thirteen persons of *Dolno-Suvanli*, among them the priest, the schoolmaster, and the mayor; three notables of *Gorno-Suvanli*; three of *Krushevo*; thirty-eight villagers of *Popovo*; forty-five of *Arnaout-Keuy*, etc.

At *Sufly*, three persons of the village of *Malky Dervent*; the priest and a notable of the village of *Kayadjik*; the mayor, churchwarden, and five other notables of the village of *Mahramli*.

At *Dimotika*, twenty-two notables of the village of *Bashklissé*.

In the district of *Gumuldjina*: sixteen persons of the village of *Satchanli*; five of *Tchadarli*; three of *Lefedjiler*, and sixteen of other villages.

Six persons of the village of *Domuz-deré*, district of Dedeagatch, etc.

Other arrests have been effected on the same count since April. Two hundred and one of these prisoners have appeared before a special tribunal constituted *ad hoc*, which condemned ninety-six with scandalous injustice (see under "Iniquitous Sentences").

Two villagers of *Sofularé*, father and son, were arrested in 1906 on the charge of having seen, without denouncing them, two refugees who had returned clandestinely from Bulgaria. These prisoners were subjected to a terrible bastinado.

At the beginning of the month of March 1905 four persons unknown were busy boring through the walls of a house in the village of *Jana*, vilayet of Adrianople, when they were surprised. In consequence of this affair, the troops surrounded the village and made a great many arrests, of course among the Bulgarian notables.

On the 1st May, 1905, were arrested: the Bulgarian notable of the village of *Kara-Khadyr*, Athanas Tchobanoff, and his three sons, who had been accused by a Government spy of being in relations with the *comitadjis*.

The next day, on the accusation of the same spy, the mayor of the village and five other notables were arrested.

A woman of eighty, Baba Kalio, of the village of *Kara-Kotch*, was also arrested.

Three notables of the village of *Raklitsa*, among whom was Gheorghi Pelteka, were also arrested on the same charge.

Gheorghi Kaloranoff, schoolmaster in the village of *Urum-Begli*, not being able to come to an agreement with some police agents who wanted money from him, was arrested during the month of August 1905. Twice liberated, he was again arrested and thrown into the prison of Kutchuk-Tyrnovo.

Koloian Peneff, of the village of *Enidjié*, suffered the same fate. He was arrested last on 2nd September, 1905.

The schoolmaster of *Mustapha-Pasha*, Pano Mladcheff, was arrested about the same date, and accused of revolutionary propagandism. Since then he has been released, and thrice rearrested. Finally, he was subjected to horrible torture.

At *Kavalla*, the Bulgarian Dimkoff, of the village of Kalapote, caza of Zihna, was passing through the town on the 20th June in company with another Bulgarian named Mandadjieff, when he was attacked by four Greeks of the committee, who fired several revolver shots at him without hitting him. Fearing to be denounced by Dimkoff, the three Greeks forestalled him and declared to the police that they had been attacked by the two Bulgarians. The latter were immediately arrested and incarcerated.

A scene of unheard-of savagery took place, during the month of July, in the village of *Dervent*, caza of Adrianople. The Bulgarian Mité Stofanoff, of this village and his two daughters were working in their vineyard, when they were assailed by the captain of the troops charged with guarding the village, and by three armed soldiers, his faithful companions in debauchery. This officer had long pursued one of the daughters of Mité. Perceiving the unhappy girl, he thought it a good opportunity for satisfying his bestial instincts. The officer and soldiers, therefore, attacked the group. The father, unarmed, could not long resist. After a short struggle he fell, killed by the officer. The girls, who shrieked desperately, defended themselves also with all their force, but their resistance was quickly overcome by the officer and the soldiers. Then the brutes violated them and killed them afterwards. Some villagers who were working in the neighbourhood witnessed the scene without being able to stop it. They denounced the murderous officer and the soldiers to the authorities. Besides, the facts of the case were evident. Nevertheless the authorities, in order to exonerate the soldiers, imprisoned the witnesses, who were themselves accused of having committed the crime.

## II. INIQUITOUS SENTENCES

The special tribunal of Uskub tried, on the 18th January, 1906, the case of thirty-two Bulgarians of *Uskub*, *Keuprulu*, and *Ishtib*, among whom were a doctor, Dr. Kusheff, priests, teachers, and notables of those towns.

All these persons had been arrested in the autumn of 1905, in consequence of letters seized, so the Turkish Government declared, by a Servian band and communicated to the authorities. The accusation was based on copies of these letters. Now, neither the accused, nor their lawyers, nor the judges had ever seen the originals. A commission of experts, nominated by the tribunal, to pronounce on the writing, declared that the letters were written by the accused. Of the five persons who composed this commission charged with pronouncing on Bulgarian writing, the spy, Fudul Baraktar, alone knew a little Bulgarian. David Effendi, a post-office clerk, spoke a little French, and the other three knew nothing but Turkish. These same persons have since declared that the letters of the accused were never shown them, that they saw nothing but a copy of these letters, executed by a certain Ismail Effendi, dragoman of Hilmi Pasha, and that they had compared the writing of this dragoman with that of the accused, being ordered to declare the letters authentic.

The identity of the accused was established as follows: Dr. Kusheff was convicted because, in a letter signed "*Æsculapius*," an American patent revolver was mentioned, and the police, in the course of a search in the doctor's house, had found a revolver of this kind. On the other hand, the judges attached importance to this further circumstance, that the person who had written one of the letters signed with the same pseudonym said that he was about to make a journey, and that, according to the reports of the police, Dr. Kusheff had gone on a journey on the very day mentioned by the said person. Now, Dr. Kusheff, a native of the town of Keuprulu, which is quite near Uskub, and where there is no Bulgarian doctor, went very often to Keuprulu to attend sick Bulgarians.

As for the accusation against the notable Lazaroff, it was based on this singular detail, that in one of the letters seized there was mention made of a man with a fair beard ; and the upshot was that, among all the inhabitants of Ishtib, the police found that the man with the fair beard could only be Lazaroff.

These two persons were condemned to ten years' imprisonment.

The others were identified as follows :

In one of the letters, one Anton is mentioned ; the notable Anton Sazdoff Shuleff was arrested, who never had taken part in politics, and whose crime was that he bore the name of Anton, which is as common as Peter or John. In another letter, a certain Tasheff is spoken of : the tailor Dimé Shatcoff was arrested and condemned. In a third letter, there is question of one Rizo (Christian name) ; Mitán (Christian name) Rizoff (surname) was arrested and convicted, etc.

There were not more than three witnesses in all called for the prosecution ; these were :

1st. Peter Stefanoff, an insurgent taken in a fight, who to save his life after a thousand tortures was ready to swear anything the police wanted.

2nd. Hamza Effendi, a Turk, a post-office clerk at Keuprulu, who gave evidence against the tailor Naoum Christoff, because the latter, after having made him a suit, was unwilling to part with it before the price agreed on had been paid ; the witness had made a scene about the matter, and had threatened the accused on several occasions.

3rd. Hussein Cavas, a Turk, once condemned to three years' imprisonment for the murder of a Bulgarian, and again to nine months for false witness. He had pursued one of the accused, a handsome young man, with shameful intentions, and he gave evidence against him at the trial.

Thus, judging from copies whose originals were never seen, identifying prisoners by ridiculous and absurd indications, founding their verdict on false witness, the tribunal condemned two eminent Bulgarians to ten, and sixteen others to four years' imprisonment.

The chief of a revolutionary band, Alexo Turundjieff, surrendered to the troops on the 4th April, 1904, in the village of *Aitos*. After sixteen months' detention, while the advisability of revising his case and of acquitting him was being discussed, he was hung on 30th August, 1905, at Monastir, in the square of At-Pazar. The order had been given unknown to the consuls, for fear they should interfere. Among the crimes with which he was charged, the one which had most weight with his judges was that he had burned the house of the priest at Aitos. Now this burning took place on 5th May, 1904, and Alexo had been arrested on the 4th April preceding—that is to say, thirty-one days before the crime.

At the end of the month of October 1904, two police agents, while making a search in the house of the brothers Vanoff, at *Vodena*, placed there three empty bombs, which they pretended to discover. In consequence of this fact, the two proprietors of the house were thrown into prison and accused of concealing bombs. The indignation provoked by this manœuvre forced Hilmi Pasha to give orders that the affair should be examined. The infamy of the police agents was abundantly proved. Nevertheless the accused were detained, and appeared on the 22nd March of the following year before the special tribunal of Salonica, after seven months' imprisonment and four adjournments.

The public prosecutor asked for the acquittal of the accused. But even then the tribunal condemned one of them to fifteen years' imprisonment.

In consequence of the murder of the priest Tashko, of *Kumanovo*, committed in 1905 by two persons unknown, eight Bulgarians were arrested, who appeared before the special tribunal of Salonica. During the trial the accused were not allowed to be defended by the advocate of their choice, and the witnesses for the defence called by them were not heard. Seven witnesses for the prosecution alone appeared. They were divided into two groups: the first composed of two Servians and a Turk who declared they had seen three of the accused after the murder with revolvers

in their hands ; the second group, composed of four Servians, designated four others of the accused as the murderers. The tribunal condemned the first to five years' imprisonment, the others to capital punishment. The murder had been done, nevertheless, by only two persons.

A band of insurgents having killed the Bulgarian Ivantcho Dodoff, who had denounced them, the authorities arrested at random fourteen peasants of his native village *Katchané*, who, as everybody knew, were entirely innocent. On the 8th April, 1905, the special tribunal of Uskub called the fourteen peasants before its bar. The accusation only rested on a *procès-verbal* of the police, in which it was stated that the accused maintained relations with the Bulgarian band who had struck the blow. The public prosecutor in his speech demanded the conviction of four of the accused and the acquittal of the ten others. The tribunal condemned four to ten years' imprisonment, nine to five years', and only acquitted one.

The same tribunal condemned to death a villager of *Gorno-Syshné*, Stoltché, and two others to five years' imprisonment, Velko and Christo, accused of being concerned in the murder of three Albanians, who were killed during the previous year. Six other accused persons were acquitted.

In this trial, as in many others, false witness played the principal part. The fact that the witnesses, Turks for the most part, knew the accused neither by sight nor by name did not give pause to the judges.

On the 19th April, 1904, at *Gostivar*, market town of the vilayet of Uskub, the Turkish committee charged a child named Stoltcho with placing three cartridges against the wall of the local barracks. The child, taken in the act, was questioned as a matter of form ; he declared, following the instructions he had received, that the cartridges had been given him by the Bulgarian Traïco Yacovtcheff, an old man of sixty, universally esteemed. The old man, in spite of his protests, was immediately arrested, and, as one arrest was



not sufficient, ten other Bulgarians, still on the accusation of Stoitcho, were arrested. The searches made by the police in the houses of the eleven accused yielded no result ; nevertheless, the unfortunates were horribly tortured ; they were hung up by the feet. On the 27th April the wife of Dimé Gashoff, one of the unfortunates, went to Zetovo, to which place the prisoners had been transferred. Her husband implored her to go to Uskub to inform the foreign consuls that he and the other prisoners were beaten nine times a day. The consuls having demanded an inquiry, the Ottoman authorities refused it. Finally the special tribunal condemned these eleven innocent Bulgarians to fifteen years' hard labour. Nevertheless, on the intervention of the consuls of the Powers, an order came from Constantinople to revise the trial ; the condemned reappeared on appeal before the same tribunal and the same judges, and this time they were acquitted ; they had therefore remained unjustly imprisoned for a year.

Here is another case which shows that when the consuls are willing they can save innocent persons :

A former schoolmaster of the village of *Kukushiné*, Nicolas Tzyrvenacoff, was arrested on the charge of a murder committed in this village long after he had left it. Everything was settled for his condemnation, although he was entirely innocent, when, on the day of the trial, in February 1905, the judges, to their great surprise, beheld the arrival of the Russian and Austrian consuls. The case was immediately adjourned under pretext of the absence of witnesses. The consuls having then asked that the date of the resumption of the trial should be communicated to them, the judges informed them, some days later, that they had acquitted the accused.

Nine villagers of *Dolni-Poroï*, caza of Demir-Hissar, were arrested, in the month of December 1904, charged with striking another villager in an inn. The public prosecutor of Demir-Hissar wishing to release them, the president of the penal tribunal, Nakiddin Bey, caused them to be sent to Salonica, where they passed five months in prison

awaiting trial. At last the tribunal acquitted them. Displeased with this result, Nakiddin Bey arrested four of the acquitted persons and condemned them to seven days' imprisonment for the misdemeanour of which they had been proclaimed innocent at Salonica. The five months' imprisonment before trial were not sufficient to save them.

The special tribunal of Monastir tried, on 13th June, 1905, the villagers Tzilé Lipitcoff and Cokoshcoff, accused of participation in the murder of the famous spy Vanghel. In spite of the absence of all proofs, the accused were condemned to ten years' imprisonment.

The same tribunal had to examine on the 24th June the case of Ilia Gheorghieff of the village of *Jugrulitza* and Sasho Dimitroff of *Moghila*. The president was informed that the prisoners' lawyer had got hold of proofs of their innocence. He summoned the accused before his bar four days in advance, and in the absence of their advocate, having hastily forced on them one of his own creatures, caused them to be condemned to ten years' imprisonment.

On the 27th June, 1905, the chief customs officer was found murdered in a street of the Greek village of *Zansko*. The gendarme who had accompanied him on his round declared that a Bulgarian band, with the chief Kiriazi at its head, had struck the blow. The authorities sent no detachment in pursuit of the band, but they searched the neighbouring villages and arrested the cultivators Alexi Mitoff and Doné Gheorghieff, without the slightest suspicion having been fastened on them. These two Bulgarians were not brought to trial till the 23rd December. The examination could discover nothing to charge them with, so that Alexi Mitoff was acquitted. But Doné Gheorghieff was condemned to three years' imprisonment. His crime was that he was supposed to be a relation of the chief of the band to which the murder was attributed.

On the 30th June, 1905, Eftim Christoff, of the village of *Biskupitzina*, went to Dibré, chief town of the caza, with the mayor of his village, named Grigor Mitreff. On the road an

Albanian band encountered them, killed Grigor Mitreff and captured Eftim Christoff. The latter had to pay a ransom of £T380 to be set at liberty. The authorities, informed by Christoff of what had happened, imprisoned him to force him to tell the names of the murderers of Grigor Mitreff. Christoff had recognised two of them, but, as they had threatened him with death if he spoke, he dared not point them out. Last January, seeing that he would be kept in prison indefinitely, he resolved to do so. The two bandits were summoned and questioned ; they declared that in fact they had killed Grigor Mitreff, but had done it on the order of Eftim Christoff, who had paid them for it. Christoff was kept in prison and the murderous bandits set at liberty.

Towards the end of the month of November 1905, nine Bulgarians, denounced by three Servians, were arrested and prosecuted on a charge of having taken a Bulgarian band to the house of the Bulgarian notable, Stanko Pumoff, of the village of *Gluhovo*, sandjak of Uskub. The Servians had accompanied the troop, and it happened that on the road, at some distance from the village, an encounter took place between a band of insurgents and a detachment of soldiers. The insurgents managed to retire under cover of darkness. The soldiers, made furious by this, made for the village of Gluhovo, assaulted the inhabitants, and, aided by the Servians, set fire to nine houses belonging to Bulgarian notables which were indicated by the Servians. Three Servian houses were burned by mistake. In the course of the trial of the nine Bulgarians, no evidence could be found against the accused except the interested statements of the informers. This was sufficient, nevertheless, to condemn them to three years' imprisonment.

The Bulgarian Kyrile Lozantcheff, merchant at *Monastir*, had been on different occasions attacked by the agents of the Greek revolutionary committee ; he had managed to escape unhurt. The Greeks resolved to ruin him in the end, and in concert with the police wrote a letter in cipher which they signed "Ghiero Lozantcha." This apocryphal

letter brought its pretended writer before the special tribunal of Monastir. The accusation was unfounded, for the examination of the commercial books and of the correspondence of the accused established the fact that he always signed "Kyrile Lozantcheff" and not the barbarous name "Ghiero Lozantcha." One of the judges of the tribunal pronounced openly for acquittal, but the president, who wished to condemn the innocent man, lost his temper and cried, "What! are you too for the Bulgarians?" and Kyrile Lozantcheff was condemned to three years' imprisonment.

The muliazim Mahzar Effendi, in concert with the yusbashi (captain) of Dibré, chief of police of the village of *Gari*, accused the inhabitants of this village of being in relations with Bulgarian bands, and demanded 600 francs for not taking drastic measures against them. The peasants paid that sum, but they communicated at the same time the muliazim's threatening letter to the judicial authorities. An examination was instituted, and Mahzar Effendi, as well as the yusbashi, were brought before the court. The muliazim, seeing himself lost, pretended that the Bulgarians had sent him the money to buy his silence. The judicial proceedings proved the contrary, and Mahzar Effendi was condemned to restore the sum. This was all, and Mahzar Effendi was maintained in his post. The yusbashi was also acquitted.

Mité Koleff and Stoian Stoikoff, of the village of *Beshishta*, having gone to the market of Perlepé in the month of October 1905, had sat down, after making their purchases, in a tavern and, made merry by some potations, had struck up a Bulgarian song. An agent drew up a *procès-verbal* against them and arrested them. The case was heard before the special tribunal; but as no article of the law allowed of their condemnation, they were convicted under Article 139 of the Penal Code, which is found in the chapter entitled "Printing-presses established without sanction, publication of harmful writings." The two Bulgarians were condemned, on the 12th December, to a fine of

£T5 or eight days' imprisonment. Their two months in prison awaiting trial were not put to their credit.

The same tribunal condemned, on the 14th July, 1906, to one year's imprisonment nine Bulgarians of *Okhrida*, imprisoned since the Christmas festivals, for having sung Bulgarian songs, declared to be seditious, in the house of the Bulgarian Naoum Baloff.

A Turkish neat-herd of the village of *Batchevo* was murdered by other Turks of his village in 1903. One of the murderers, named Yashar, in order to clear his companions, forced a young Bulgarian of fifteen by blows and threats to declare that Constantin Temanushkoff and another Bulgarian, named Athanas Vasilieff Zavarino, were the murderers of Ibrahim Djekara. Now at that date, and even a considerable time before the crime, these two Bulgarians had emigrated to Bulgaria. When the amnesty was granted, after the events of 1903, the two Bulgarians, fearing nothing, returned to their village. Two years had passed when, on the 21st April, 1906, the deputy-mayor, the Turk Bekir Glaieff, arrested the two Bulgarians as the murderers of Djekara. They were tried on the 1st July by the tribunal of Serres. Although ten persons who had been with the accused in Bulgaria gave evidence to this effect before the tribunal, and although the young Bulgarian declared that he had been constrained by force to give evidence in 1903 against these absent men, they were condemned to fifteen years' penal servitude.

On the 14th February, 1906, the Criminal Chamber of Monastir had to try the Turkish band of the famous captain Moussa Emin Piperca, a native of the village of *Drianovo*, caza of Tikvesh. This brigand, with his band, had entered the Bulgarian village of *Tzarevik*, caza of Perlepé, on the 18th January, 1905, and murdered seventeen Bulgarians. The proofs collected by the prosecution were overwhelming. Moussa Emin confessed cynically that he had murdered more than forty *giaours* (Christians). He and his band were all acquitted.

Tzvetco Janakieff, a boy of the village of *Krivogashtani*, received from his uncle, on the 12th May, 1906, a sum of £T5, and 100 piastres, to go and pay a tradesman the next day at Perlepé. Two Servians of the village, the brothers Christé and Ilia Dimeff, men of the brigadier of police Djemal Onbashi, having learned this fact, resolved to attack the young Bulgarian as he was returning home at night, while passing their house. The young man passed, was attacked, wounded by a blow from a hatchet on the head, and stripped of his money. But shots were fired. The village was alarmed, the police agents arrived, not knowing what to make of it. The aggressors then pretended that the young man had tried to set fire to their house, and that he was a dangerous *comitadjii*. The police drew up a *procès-verbal*, of course in their favour, and in spite of the protests of the whole village, arrested the wounded lad. The special tribunal of Monastir, refusing to listen to the witnesses for the defence—the whole village—and refusing to examine the evidence and facts brought forward by the defence, basing its decision only on the denunciations of the brigadier Djemal Onbashi, on the 29th August, 1906, condemned the unfortunate youth to fifteen years' imprisonment.

### *In the Vilayet of Adrianople*

The special tribunal of Adrianople tried, between the 15th April and the 2nd August, 1905, 201 Bulgarian prisoners, divided into ten groups, all accused of harbouring the bands of Tanu Nicoloff and Arnaoudoff, and of having participated in the revolutionary movement of the committees. The declarations of all the accused before the tribunal demonstrated incontestably that Tanu Nicoloff and Arnaoudoff were in no wise members of the committees, but simply common brigands who threatened with death and killed all who did not give them the assistance they required, or did not shelter them from the authorities; that the teacher at *Kaiadjik*, Gheorghi Valkoff, having refused the required assistance, had been killed by the

band of Arnaoudoff. In spite of this important fact, and in spite of the declarations of the accused that if they had rendered certain services to the brigands they had done so to escape the threats and the terror which hung over them, the tribunal, considering the accused as willing accomplices of the revolutionary bands, condemned three of them to death and ninety-three others to prison, nineteen of them to three years, twenty-eight to five years, four to seven years, sixteen to ten years, twenty-five to fifteen years, and one to a hundred and one years.

Here is the procedure of the trial :

The tribunal judged it needless to have the declarations of the accused read before the examining magistrate, or to question the accused at the bar. As for the official counsel of the accused, he either did not say a word, or contented himself with saying : " Gentlemen, I find nothing establishing the guilt of the accused." More than that, the tribunal refused to listen to the witnesses for the defence.

No inquiry was opened about the numerous complaints made against members of the police, as, for example, against the secretary of the *caïmacan* of Orta-Keuy, Murad, the commissioner of police Chakir, the officer of *gendarmerie* Salih Effendi, and so many others, who, at night, by ill-treatment, blows and torture, extorted signatures from the accused.

The rural policeman of Monastir, a Turk, called as witness, declared calmly before the tribunal that he was aware of the existence of the band, but that he had not informed the authorities because alarming threats from the band hung over him, and he had besides sworn not to say anything. And this witness left the court freely, while the Bulgarians were condemned for the same cause.

The only witness whose declarations were taken into consideration was the brigand Janco Stalcoff, a Greek, native of Philippopolis, who had belonged to the band of Tanu and had sold himself to the police. Yet his testimony should not have been admitted, as he declared, before the tribunal, that it was with a view to avenging himself on the Bulgarians, for whom he had a mortal hate, that he had betrayed his

comrades and all the accused. The tribunal, nevertheless, took advantage of this testimony to condemn ninety-six Bulgarians.

### III. PARTIALITY OF THE JUDGES

During the month of June 1905, the special tribunal of Salonica tried the case of the Bulgarian Doné Christoff, of the village of *Pod*, caza of Vodena, who had been surprised carrying provisions to a Bulgarian band. The accused confessed his crime, but asked the tribunal to note that he had obeyed the band for fear of being killed. The tribunal condemned him to three years' imprisonment.

The same special tribunal, at the same date, tried the affair of the Greek Gheorghi Ivanoff, of the village of *Nigorita*, caza of Serres, accused of having collected subscriptions in the name of the committee. The tribunal declared itself incompetent, and made over the affair to the ordinary tribunal under pretext that the accused was a thief by profession, and that he had collected the money for fictitious *comitadjis*.

On the 29th July the same tribunal condemned to only six months' imprisonment a party of the Greco-Turkish band which had fled, after its discovery by the soldiers, into the caza of Doïran. The tribunal moreover took into account their imprisonment before trial. The other bandits, among whom were the two Turks Ibrahim Ali of Ghevgheli and Djemal Hussein, were acquitted. Some of the bandits condemned had taken part in the massacre of *Marventzi*, caza of Doïran.

On the 9th July, 1905, a detachment of Turkish soldiers, while marching through the Greek village of Baldja, caza of Salonica, had conducted a search in the house of a certain Dimitri Christodul, in which they had surprised and arrested a Greek band, composed of eleven individuals, on whom were found seventeen rifles, seven hundred and fifty cartridges, three sabres, and five military caps. These men having been brought to trial, the special tribunal of Salonica declared itself incompetent, and sent them before the ordinary tribunals.



To the illegal ordinance of the special tribunal must be added the sentence of the ordinary tribunal, which, on the 11th January, 1906, condemned the Greek bandits to the following penalties: the chief of the band, Nicolas Velitza, for contumacy, to two years' imprisonment; Nicolas Zaphir, assassin of the Bulgarian Gheorghi Manoff, of Salonica, and Dimitri Christodul, proprietor of the house in which the Greek band was surprised, as well as the ten other men of this band, to one year's imprisonment.

The tribunal of Monastir gave judgment, on the 12th June, in the trial of the five patriarchists of the village of *Konsco*, caza of Kastoria, accused of having taken part in the massacre of eight villagers of Jupanitza, a massacre which was perpetrated on the 13th April, 1905, by a Greek band. The tribunal would not listen to the witnesses for the prosecution, Tomé Tyrpoff and Stanco, who, though wounded, had survived the massacre, and saw how the accused bound their victims and delivered them to the Greek band. It acquitted four of the accused and condemned the fifth to three years' imprisonment only.

On the 2nd June, 1905, the special tribunal of Uskub examined the affair of six Servians of the village of *Barbaritza*, at whose houses nine rifles and five hundred cartridges had been found. They acknowledged before the tribunal that they had received the rifles from Servian bands, but had been forced to it. The tribunal acquitted them.

The same tribunal tried, on the 18th of the same month, the case of fourteen Bulgarians of *Kotchani*. Among them were the head schoolmaster of Kotchani, Hadji Lazar Serafimoff, and two priests. All were accused of having had relations with the revolutionary committees. The teacher Hadji Lazar Serafimoff confessed before the tribunal to being the author of some twenty letters in cipher, seized and opened by the authorities, but he denied the participation of the other accused persons in the committees. Those of the accused who during the examination, to escape ill-treatment, had declared themselves guilty, protested their

innocence before the tribunal. No proof other than the letters seized, which concerned only Serafimoff, was furnished. Nevertheless the tribunal condemned Serafimoff and the priest Dionisy Mikharloff to fifteen years' hard labour, and the teachers Grigor Trendoff and Alexander Dimitoff and six other Bulgarians to four years'.

The same tribunal acquitted, on the 27th November, forty-three Servians, among whom was the priest Stanko Tomik, the bishop's deputy at *Palanetch*, accused of having had relations with a Servian band which had an encounter with the troops near *Petronitsa*. In the knapsack of one of the insurgents who was killed a number of letters were found, which, according to the report of the inquiry, had been written by the bishop's deputy. As the prosecution had omitted to compare the writing of the deputy with that of the letters, the public prosecutor and a member of the tribunal, Ibrahim Effendi, demanded an adjournment. The tribunal decided that expert evidence would be needless, and acquitted the Servians.

The special tribunal of Monastir gave sentence on the 7th August in the affair of *Zagoritchani*, in which some Greeks were inculpated, being prosecuted as authors of the horrible massacre which drowned this village in blood (sixty killed.) Although the guilt of the assassins was proved by numerous testimonies, the accused were only condemned to five years' imprisonment. The sentence was unanimously given, except for one voice, that of the president—he demanded an acquittal. Ten accused persons from *Belkamen* and seventeen from *Lehovo*, *caza* of Kastoria, accused of having harboured the band, were acquitted. On the next day, the same tribunal condemned the Bulgarian Tzvetco Traitcheff, of the village of *Hassanovo*, *caza* of Florina, to ten years' imprisonment for having kept a rifle in his house.

The chief of a band, Vanghel, and his comrades were condemned on the 24th August, by the same tribunal, the first to eight years' imprisonment, and the others to three

years'. The tribunal allowed extenuating circumstances because Vanghel confessed before it to murdering the seven Bulgarians of the village of *Ezeretz*. One of his comrades, Manol Zissi, declared that he had received subsidies from the Greek metropolitan, directly or by the intermediary of his priests, on several occasions, when the funds of the committee were exhausted. That excited the sympathy of the judges towards him.

The special tribunal of Salonica condemned, on the 15th August, 1905, to fifteen years' imprisonment the Bulgarian Stoian Spassof, of *Sofia*, who had been one of a Bulgarian revolutionary band, and had been wounded and captured in an encounter between the band and the soldiers near the village of Ghiavato, caza of Ghevgheli. Indignant at this unheard-of partiality of the tribunal, he cried out: "Of course, I'm not a Greek bandit to be sentenced to only three months' imprisonment."

In fact, two days later the same tribunal acquitted the Greek subject Iravli Thodori Liga, arrested in consequence of a search which had resulted in the discovery in his house of compromising papers; and on August 23rd ordered the release of the Greek bandit captain Vassil Constantinidis, putting him merely under police surveillance. This bandit had been one of the band of Moraitis which was captured in the caza of Ghevgheli.

Vassil Constantinidis, a Hellenic subject, and a native of Ermia, Thessaly, declared before the tribunal that the Moraitis band had come from Greece with the single aim of helping the Imperial army to exterminate the Bulgarians. This saved him.

The same tribunal set at liberty the subaltern of the Greek army, Ioani Miltiadi, who had surrendered to the soldiers after the encounter which his band had on the 21st May in the caza of Ghevgheli.

The same tribunal acquitted on the 24th August the Greek bandits Mihal Sophoulos of *Piræus*, under-officer of the Greek fleet, and Sterio Vanghel, of Athens, sailor of that fleet, who had been captured by the troops when a revolu-

tionary Bulgarian band had scattered them near the village of *Pojarsko*, каза of *Vodena*.

On the 20th December, 1905, the special tribunal of Uskub tried the case of two Servians, the priest Zaphir, of the village of *Mokresh*, каза of Kumanovo, and Kior Bogdan, of the каза of Preshovo, accused of having belonged to Servian bands. It was established before the tribunal that towards the end of the month of September the secretary of the Servian bishopric at Uskub, Bogdan Radenkovitch, had sent a rascal called Kior Bogdan to the priest Zaphir to be enrolled in a band of Kumanovo. The captain, Tomo, to whom the priest had recommended him, sent back this man, who was charged by the priest Zaphir to carry two letters to the bishopric of Uskub, one of which concerned the affairs of the Church, and the other said: "The fire has already commenced. We shall soon be able to congratulate ourselves on our activity and the brilliant results obtained. I send you back the man recommended, for he is good for nothing in our business."

These two letters were seized on Kior Bogdan at the Kumanovo station. Kior Bogdan was immediately arrested, and the order to arrest the priest Zaphir was also issued. As for the secretary of the bishopric, warned in time, he succeeded in getting away to Belgrade.

The priest Zaphir acknowledged before the tribunal that the letter concerning the affairs of the Church was written by him, but not the other. The writing of the two letters being the same, the public prosecutor demanded an adjournment to get the report of an expert. The tribunal, nevertheless, after deliberation, rejected the proposal of the prosecution, and acquitted the two accused.

Yet never had the fires in the villages of the каза of Kumanovo lit by the Servian bands to force the Bulgarians to declare for the Servians been more frequent than at that time. As for the sentence of the tribunal, it is absolutely identical with that pronounced against the deputy of the Bishop of *Palanka*: the same crime, discovered by letters, the same omission of the examining magistrate to compare the writings, the same refusal of the tribunal to adjourn the

case for the completion of the examination, and, finally, the same acquittal of the accused.

The same tribunal acquitted on the 24th March, 1906, an agent of the Servian propaganda, Vladislav Ilitch, of Belgrade, who confessed before the tribunal to having distributed among the Servian inhabitants of the cazas of Kumanovo and Preshovo arms and explosives which he had received from Servia.

On the 3rd August, 1905, a Bulgarian band was surrounded in the village of *Aitos*, caza of Florina. The chief of the band and some of his men having succeeded in escaping, five of their companions, named Sotir Koleff, Nardo Stofanoff, Gheorghi Vaneff, Gheorghi Taneff, and Grigor Vassileff remained in the village and surrendered without resistance to the Turkish soldiers. In the course of the trial of these five Bulgarian insurgents it was established by the documents of the case and the evidence of witnesses that the chief of the band was a certain Pandel Shishkoff, of Ekshi-Su. In spite of those incontestable proofs, the special tribunal proclaimed one of the accused, Sotir Koleff, chief of the band in question, and as such condemned him to death; his companions received a sentence of fifteen years' hard labour. The priest of the village of Aitos, Father Ilia Costadinoff, the notable Mitré Koleff, the mukhtar Kolé Mitroff, as well as the azas Boné Vaneff and Yané Mitreff, implicated in the same case, were each condemned to three years' hard labour "because they could not be ignorant of the presence of the band in their village."

On the 29th June, 1905, a band, composed of Greeks and Turks, had murdered with knives seventeen Bulgarians of the village of *Kladorabi*, caza of Florina. Twelve assassins had been designated to the authorities by three witnesses—the public crier and two women of the same village. The tribunal acquitted the accused.

In the month of December 1905, the Turkish police discovered, in consequence of a search made on the farm of the Greek Gheorghi Harissi, situated in the village of

*Kilindir*, caza of Dolran, a store of linen, flannel, shirts, socks, etc., with four Gras rifles, the whole destined for the Greek bands. Harissi was arrested and taken to Salonica; but instead of being imprisoned he was kept in a special, comfortable room, where his friends and acquaintances came freely to visit him. To get released, he had only to declare to the tribunal that the clothes were meant as gifts to the domestics on the farm on the occasion of the Christmas festivals.

Here, nevertheless, is a fact which sufficiently characterises the relations of Harissi with his domestics and the nature of their occupation. On the 25th August, 1905, a detachment of Turkish soldiers encountered and attacked at *Sary-Keuy*, caza of Kukush, a Greek band, twenty-two strong, four of whom were killed and the others captured. Among the last was the Turk Omer, who served as guide to the band. Now, it was established that this Turk was employed by Harissi, who had ordered him to put himself at the service of the band. In this case of concealment the guilt of Harissi was clearly proved. Moreover, every one knows in the country that the farm of this man serves as refuge to the Greek bands, and that since the appearance of these bands Harissi has engaged in his service a certain Christidi, an active agent of the Greek committees.

On the 17th November, 1905, a Servian band having burst into the village of *Radovnitza*, caza of Preshovo, took as hostages the Bulgarians Dian Mladenoff and Stanor Spassoff, and after having shut them up in the house of the Servian Grozdo Stefkoff, maltreated them, and were preparing to put them to death when they were surprised and attacked by the night patrol. Grozdo Stefkoff and three other friends of Servia were arrested and taken before the special tribunal of Uskub for concealing bandits. Nevertheless, in spite of the manifest guilt of the accused, in spite of the evidence given by a Turk, by the ill-used peasants, and by the Ottoman officer commanding the patrol, the special tribunal returned a verdict of acquittal on the 27th February, 1906.

On the 25th January, 1905, a Servian band entered the village of Nicolani, caza of Kumanovo, and installed itself in two adjoining houses, with the concurrence of the two Servian schoolmasters and of the rural policeman. A detachment of Turkish troops, informed of the presence of this band, surrounded one of the houses. A fight followed, in which the bandits who were in the other house with the rural policeman and the two Servian schoolmasters also took part. These latter three were arrested at the same time as the Servian villagers who gave asylum, aid, and protection to the Servian bandits. The case was tried on the 28th March by the special tribunal of Uskub, which, in spite of the confessions of the accused and the evidence of the witnesses, only condemned the two schoolmasters to three years' imprisonment.

On the 27th April, 1906, there were brought before the special tribunal of Uskub the following persons : Dimé Martinoff, of *Keuprulu*, chief of a Bulgarian band in the caza of Uskub, captured on the 18th February, 1906, at Uskub and accused of having resisted the local authorities with arms in his hands ; Neda Zdravkova of Uskub, accused of having concealed Dimé Martinoff (the latter had mounted on the roof of the house of the accused to get down and take refuge in the house of the French protégé Yanko) ; the brothers Stořan and Dimé Taneff, accused of having concealed two Bulgarians Ivan and Arso, of *Keuprulu* (killed since in an encounter with Turkish soldiers), who were the companions of Dimé Martinoff, above named ; the wives of Stořan and Dimé Taneff, also accused of concealment ; these last, being seriously ill in prison, could not appear before the tribunal.

Dimé Martinoff acknowledged before the tribunal that he and his two companions had entered by force into the houses of the other accused. On their side, the brothers Stořan and Dimé Taneff declared that they were not at home when the band entered their house, and, consequently, were not guilty of harbouring them. Although the prosecution could not furnish any proof of the guilt of the accused, the tribunal, without taking into consideration the precedent

of the sentence pronounced in the case of the village of Nicolani, condemned Dimé Martinoff to death, the brothers Stotan and Dimé Taneff to four years' and Neda Zdravkova to three years' hard labour. The two other women accused were left in prison to be judged after their recovery.

On the 18th January, 1906, the same tribunal tried the case of the thirty-two inhabitants of *Uskub*, of *Keuprulu*, and of *Ishtib*, among whom were Dr. Kusheff, doctor at Uskub, and T. Lazaroff, Bulgarian notable of Ishtib.

The accusation was based, as has been seen a few pages back, on the fact that compromising letters had been attributed to Lazaroff and to Dr. Kusheff by a commission of experts. Now it was established before the tribunal that the originals of these letters did not figure in the brief, and that they were only copies made by Ismail Effendi, secretary of Inspector-General Hilmi Pasha!

Dr. Kusheff and Lazaroff were condemned to ten years' imprisonment. Of the thirty other Bulgarians implicated in this case, fourteen were acquitted and sixteen condemned to four years' imprisonment, although the charge was founded on false evidence.

In consequence of the insurrection of 1903, an Imperial iradé sanctioned, on the 14th October, 1903, and gave the force of law to the following provision as rider to Article 58 of the Ottoman Penal Code :

To be punished by fifteen years' hard labour, those who, without sanction of the Imperial Government, receive, conceal, or manufacture dynamite in large or small quantities, as well as all those who knowingly facilitate such acts. If it is established that these acts have been committed with a revolutionary aim, the guilty persons will be punished by penal servitude for life; and if these acts have been put in execution, their authors will be condemned to death.

On the 26th November, 1905, a detachment of Turkish soldiers, after a fight of some duration in the village of *Nivitza*, caza of Prespa, captured a Greek band of fourteen men and its chief, who were all armed with rifles and carried two bombs. This crime fell within the scope of



the above provision. Nevertheless, the special tribunal of Monastir, called to try this case on the 13th February, 1906, was unwilling to define the character of the crime, and reserved judgment in order to ask the opinion of the Minister of Justice at Constantinople on the matter of its competence.

The same tribunal, trying on the same day the case of seven Bulgarian revolutionaries, who, on the advice of Captain Vicenzi, had surrendered on the 13th October, 1905 (with the exception of their chief Traiko Barnekli), to the Turkish soldiers at the village of *Bautché*, caza of Prespa, proclaimed as chief of the band one of the accused, Bogofa Silianoff, in order to condemn him to death, and condemned each of his companions, Petko Stoïkoff, Petko Veleff, Risté Yoïcheff, Velé Yovantcheff, Boné Taneff, and Ilia Risteff to fifteen years' penal servitude.

On the 11th November, 1905, towards nine o'clock in the evening, a Greek band of about eighty to a hundred men, armed with Mauser and Gras rifles, entered the village of *Nevoliani*, caza of Florina, and after having surrounded the house of Gheorgi Yaneff, where, a marriage being in course of celebration, some fifty relatives and friends of the newly married couple were assembled, began to fire through the doors and windows; and, seeing that the wedding party did not come out, set fire to the house. There were thirteen killed, among them a child of fourteen, Stoïtché Vaneff, and the young girl Mitra Delova, aged nineteen, and eight women and little girls wounded, one aged nine, Lenka, one of ten, Elena Tasseva, and one, Ponda, twelve years old. The assassins tore the jewels from the hair and fingers of the women. They also stripped the corpses of their boots and other effects.

Some days after, the band which had committed these horrors was captured by the soldiers in the village of *Opsirino*, caza of Monastir. The bandits were brought, on the 15th February, 1906, before the special tribunal of Monastir. They pleaded an alibi, and, by false witness, tried to establish that, on the night of the 11th November, they were at the

villages of Dragosh and Sveta-Petka; but the false witnesses had been so badly instructed that the tribunal refused to admit this alibi. Then the bandits asked the tribunal to admit the proof of this other alibi: that they were not at Dragosh, but at Opsirino at the time of the burning at Nevoliani. Audacious and impudent as this demand was, the tribunal admitted it.

The same tribunal tried, on the 24th March, the young Bulgarian Todor Athanasoff, inculpated in the affair of the attack on the Servian Djambaz, at Perlepé, which took place on the 16th December, 1905. All the aggressors had fled, and the Bulgarian Todor Athanasoff was implicated in this affair through the suspicions of the victim and the evidence of a soldier, who pretended to have recognised him. Athanasoff tried to plead an indisputable alibi, but the president of the tribunal objected to it, and Todor Athanasoff was condemned to fifteen years' penal servitude.

On the 15th February the same tribunal acquitted the Greek Risté Naïdoff, accused of having murdered the Bulgarian Traïko Morioftché. The accusation was based on the *procès-verbal* drawn up by an agent of the police on the scene of the crime, as well as on the evidence of Bulgarian witnesses, who had pointed out to the police agent the house to which the murderer had fled and where he was arrested. The accused called four witnesses for the defence, who declared that the Bulgarian witnesses were members of the Bulgarian band, and, as such, had threatened the accused, at the time of his stay in the village of *Makovo*, caza of Perlepé. Now the accused had himself just before declared to the tribunal that he had only gone once to Makovo, and then accompanied by soldiers, because he feared to be killed by the Bulgarians in his capacity as Ottoman police agent. In spite of this, the tribunal took the fresh declarations by the accused into serious consideration, and holding the witnesses for the prosecution to be suspect, acquitted the murderer.

On the 12th October, 1905, the Bulgarian teacher Christo Volcanoff was assassinated by an agent of the Greek committee at *Kojani*. The murderer was arrested at the

moment of crossing the frontier to take refuge in Greece.

The wife of Volcanoff had witnessed the murder and knew the murderer. At the time of the examination, the judicial authorities tried twice to lead her astray about the person of the guilty man. In fact, she was confronted, the first time, with five persons, and she unhesitatingly pointed out the criminal, who was among them; the second time she was confronted with fifty others, the criminal among them disguised. She recognised him all the same, without hesitation.

The case was tried by the special tribunal of Monastir, and in spite of the most overwhelming proofs the assassin was acquitted.

On the 10th November, 1905, a certain Murad, secretary of the Greek lawyer Nico Zingara, of Monastir, was arrested at the station of Monastir after a functionary of the Greek consulate of that town, named Vassilaki Agorasto—who was accompanied by a Greek schoolmaster—had given him a packet of letters. The police seized these letters, which were in cipher. Here are two of them whose text has been deciphered :

I have succeeded in facilitating the flight of George Volari; this man is the chief of the Greek band who had been sent from prison to the Greek hospital to be nursed. Do what is necessary to enable him to pass the frontier without danger.

(Signed) KALLOUDIS.

The second letter contained the following :

I have been unable to forward the wages of Captain Vardas for the last two months. Pay him, and charge to our account. As for his bands, make them leave for Morihovo, where we have men who will receive them.

(Signed) KALLOUDIS.

Murad was condemned to three months' imprisonment. As for Murad's master, the lawyer Zingara, avowed president of the terrorist committees of Monastir, he was in no way molested, nor was the Greek schoolmaster; but the police

agent Gheorghi Slava, who gave witness against the Greeks, was removed from his place and sent to an inferior post at Okhrida.

The assailant of M. Tchengheleff, the director of the boys' school at Salonica, was only tried by the ordinary tribunal, and his case considered as a crime of common law. The assailant was acquitted for want of proof, in spite of the positive declaration of the victim and that of the kavass of the school that the accused was certainly the person who had attacked the director, and in spite of the tale told by the kavass that the accused had offered him £T20 to say that he did not recognise him.

In 1906 the Bulgarians Stanof Miliadinoff, of the village of *Vrakupovitsa*, and Stanof Drenkaroff, of the village of *Gorna-Krushitsa*, каза of Petritch, were killed; a certain Bojine Dimitroff was wounded at the same time. The latter had recognised the murderers, two Greeks of the village of Startchevo (same каза). In spite of the positive evidence of the wounded man, the tribunal acquitted the two Greeks.

In the evening of the 1st February four armed Greeks knocked at the door of the house of the Bulgarian Bortcho Milusheff, calling him by name. The wife and brother of Bortcho opened, and recognised the Greeks Dimitri Gogolasli, of the village of Homondos, Gheorghi Poullo, and a certain Yanni. These three individuals insisting on having speech with Bortcho, the latter appeared. He was received with a volley, fell severely wounded, and died two days afterwards. As it was raining on the night of the crime, two peasants of the village of *Christo*, каза of Serres, where the crime was committed, Athanas Stofanoff and Anghel Pandaroff, followed the tracks of the murderers, which led them to the house of a certain Dino Kehafa, of the village of Kavakli; they found the murderers, recognised by the wife of the wounded man, in his house.

The ordinary tribunal of Serres, on the 10th May, tried this criminal case, which was in the jurisdiction of the special

tribunal of Salonica ; in spite of the proofs which rendered the guilt of the accused incontestable, they were all acquitted.

The special tribunal of Salonica tried, on the 28th August, the case of the authors of the attack on the president of the Bulgarian community of Serres, the Reverend Father Madjaroff. Arab-Jussuff confessed his crime ; he had, he said, tried to kill Madjaroff, being ordered to do so by the Greeks Grigor Dimitri and Todor Dimitri, of Serres. Arab-Jussuff was only condemned to four years' imprisonment ; his instigators were acquitted.

On the 10th February, 1906, the police of Monastir arrested the young Greek Christo Ilia, carrying in his pocket two revolvers, at the moment when he was walking about the garden belonging to the Bulgarian metropolitan of that town, Mgr. Gregor, who was accustomed to go there about that hour. Only the night before, the metropolitan had been confidentially warned that the Greek committee had decreed his death, and that the Greek terrorists were looking for an occasion to carry out this decision. This was known to the police. It is, therefore, evident that Christo Ilia had posted himself on that spot to kill Mgr. Gregor. Nevertheless, on the 18th March, the special tribunal returned a verdict of acquittal in his case.

Two days later the same tribunal tried the case of the young Bulgarian Lazare Ivanoff, arrested by the police of Monastir in a café of the town carrying two revolvers. The special tribunal condemned him to fifteen years' penal servitude, under pretext that he had resisted the police.

#### IV. IMPRISONMENT BEFORE TRIAL

The Bulgarians Peter Saleff and Tané Phileff, of Cetina, caza of Florina, having been assassinated on the 28th December, 1902, the authorities accused and arrested the three brothers Ghelé, Mitzo, and Kolé Itchovi, and their sons Ilu, Kosta, and Don. The accusation was based on the discovery

in their house of a cloth marked with the blood of a pig which they had killed the day before. The tribunal of Monastir, trying the case on the 8th May, 1903, decided to have this blood analysed in the laboratory at Constantinople; to this end it required the accused to pay the sum of 20 medjidies towards the expense of the analysis. The latter not possessing such a sum, the case remained in suspense and the accused in prison. Three of them died there; a similar fate awaits the three others.

In the course of the month of July 1904, a certain number of Bulgarians were arrested at Constantinople and incarcerated in the most gloomy and unhealthy dungeons of Beyuk-Zaptieh. The cause of their imprisonment is unknown. They remained in prison without being brought to trial until the end of 1905.

The special tribunal of Salonica tried, on the 22nd April, nine Bulgarians of *Dolnopolé*, vilayet of Salonica, accused of having collected funds for the *comitadjis*. All were acquitted; they had been in prison since the month of December.

The same day the same tribunal also brought before its bar four Bulgarians accused of having had relations with the *comitadjis*. These Bulgarians were acknowledged to be innocent. They had also been in prison since the month of December.

On the 25th September, 1904, persons unknown killed the priest of the village of *Brod* (Monastir) and one of his compatriots. In consequence of this murder the authorities imprisoned more than eighty Bulgarians of the neighbouring villages. The majority of these were released after a long sojourn in prison. Eighteen were detained until the day of trial, the 22nd May. Of these eighteen, sixteen were acquitted and two condemned. Thus eighty persons spent months in prison before trial, and only two of them were finally found guilty.

On the 24th May the special tribunal of Uskub gave sentence in the case of ten Bulgarians of *Radovich*, accused

of having concealed three insurgents who held the troops in check two months before. One of the accused died in prison. Nine appeared in court, of whom eight were acquitted, and one, Hito Gheorghieff, was condemned to five years' imprisonment.

The special tribunal of Salonica tried, on the 6th June, Dimitri Koleff, mayor of the village of *Aghia-Maria*, caza of Karaferia, and with him twenty-two other Bulgarians. These persons renewed before the tribunal the declaration which they had made in the course of their cross-examination; it was in consequence of abominable tortures inflicted on them by the military commandant of Karaferia that they had confessed themselves guilty.

The tribunal acquitted them. They had been five months in prison before trial.

Five insurgents were surprised by the troops, on the 23rd January, in the village of *Ibrahimovo*, caza of Uskub. After some hours' fighting, the insurgents escaped under cover of darkness. The soldiers, who had one man killed, took revenge next day on the peaceable peasants. They beat a great number of them, and imprisoned the mukhtar and seven notables. The latter were kept in prison on a charge of affiliation with the bands until 19th June, 1905. On that day the special tribunal of Uskub acquitted them on the demand of the Attorney-General. These unfortunate men had therefore passed six months in prison before trial.

In the month of February 1904, Gheorghi Kostoff, of the village of *Kovoishta*, caza of Goritza, was found murdered. On the occasion of this murder, the authorities arrested Petré Constantinoff, Alexander Stephanoff, Vassil Constantinoff, Spiro Constantinoff, and the priest Christo P. Dimitroff, all of the village of *Luboïno*, caza of Prespa. The case was not tried till the 1st July, 1905, by the ordinary tribunal, which acquitted them. They had been in prison for fourteen months and a half before trial.

On the 4th January, 1905, the criminal tribunal of Uskub had to try Tomo Milenkoff and Nedelko Stoianoff, of the village of *Boshkovtzi*, caza of Preshovo. They were accused of having concealed some Servian bandits. This is what the prosecution stated: On the 27th August, in the evening, a military detachment, passing through the village of *Boshkovtzi*, encountered several armed men, who seemed to be leaving two houses. These men fled at the sight of the troops. The soldiers allowed the men to go, and arrested the owners of the suspected houses.

After five months, during which they were in prison without trial, the special tribunal acquitted them.

The Bulgarian prelate of *Gumendjé*, the priest Batandjéff, who was arrested in 1904 on the denunciation of the notorious spy Anghelaky, a Greek doctor at *Gumendjé*, experienced five adjournments of his trial, each time on account of the absence of the witness for the prosecution. At last, in June 1905, the criminal tribunal succeeded in hearing Dr. Anghelaky, who gave evidence against the accused. From information derived from agents of his own, the witness had formed, he said, the conviction that the accused had had a hand in the murder of the Greek schoolmaster Jany. Requested to be more precise and to give the names of his agents, Dr. Anghelaky refused to give the names of his Christian agents, giving only the names of two Turks. The tribunal for the sixth time adjourned the trial, in order to call the new witnesses.

The special tribunal of Salonica tried in the course of April 1906 twenty-six Bulgarians, arrested in consequence of a search made on the 28th December, 1905, by a detachment of soldiers in the village of *Kriva*. The mudir of *Gumendjé*, who directed the search, had discovered in the house of a Bulgarian, Tomas Itchoff Tryptcheff, a rifle and sabre; Tryptcheff and his servant were arrested.

Mitré Kostoff, Costadine Itchoff, Christo Mitreff, and two other Bulgarians were also arrested on a charge of being *comitadjis*. The tribunal tried the case, and condemned



the five accused Bulgarians to three years' imprisonment. The twenty-one others, after being four months in prison without trial, were released.

In the course of the month of September 1905, a certain Gheorghi Karayontcheff, of the village of *Zelenitché*, was arrested under pretext that his name resembled that of Ivan Garvanoff, a Bulgarian revolutionary. The unfortunate man remained in prison until the 24th March, the day of his acquittal by the tribunal of Monastir.

On the subject of the long detention of innocent persons, the following facts speak volumes :

1st. The special tribunal of Uskub tried in the course of 1905 the cases of 300 Bulgarians accused of political crimes. Of this number it acquitted 192 persons—that is to say, 62 per cent. of the accused. All had passed several months in prison, and several had passed years there.

2nd. The special tribunal of Salonica tried in the same year 487 persons, of whom 258 (that is to say, 53 per cent.) were declared innocent. Needless to say, most of these unfortunates left prison with broken health, and found ruin in their homes.

3rd. The special tribunal of Adrianople had to try 201 Bulgarians arrested in a body in consequence of the discovery of bands commanded by Tané Nicoloff and Arnaoudoff. A hundred and four of the accused (*i.e.* 51 per cent.) were declared innocent, after having suffered a detention of more than six months.

Nevertheless, the partiality of the special tribunals and their hate of the Bulgarians have been seen. They were specially created to try Bulgarians accused of political crimes, and are composed with a view to that end ; and if these tribunals, in spite of their contempt of all justice and their desire to obey the administration by condemning the greatest possible number of those brought before them, have acquitted more than half of the accused, it must be concluded that the majority of arrests have been made without a shadow of guilt or wrong-doing.

Here is a secret circular from the Ministry of Justice at Constantinople, sent to the valis of Macedonia in the course of March, 1906 :

In consequence of the measures of the Bulgarian Government, I had recommended you by the *teskeré* of 3rd January (old style) to order the judicial authorities not to arrest innocent Bulgarians merely on suspicion, without sufficient proofs of their guilt, and not to keep them a very long time in prison before trial. Thus, for example, the special tribunal of Monastir has recently acquitted fifty-two persons and condemned four—one out of thirteen—which proves clearly that innocent persons are imprisoned. As on one hand our enemies watch us continually to find us in fault and declare us incapable, and, on the other, the Bulgarians follow secretly and vigilantly all our actions, it is recommended once again to give severe orders to make the whole evil cease. It is the will of H.I.M. the Sultan.

The evil has not yet ceased.

## V. THE TURKISH JAIL

On the night of the 1st March, 1905, at Monastir, the Turkish and Greek prisoners fell on the Bulgarian prisoners, wounded seven, and maltreated twenty-one others.

In the month of May 1905, the consuls of Austria-Hungary and of Russia at Uskub, MM. Para and Belateff, visited a large prison of the town, where they ascertained the pitiable state of the prisoners. This fact so excited the warders of the prison that on the 14th of the same month they cruelly beat twenty Bulgarian prisoners who were blamed for the visit of the consuls.

At Salonica, on the 26th June, 1906, the prisoners Ismail and Jussuff Tchinguené wounded the schoolmaster Dimitre Gheorghieff, and threw him from a height of 30 feet. He was seriously injured. The offenders were not punished.

On the 14th July several Turkish prisoners mortally wounded with a dagger the political offenders Jordan and two other young Bulgarians.

Searches made twenty days before had resulted in the

seizure of thirty-four daggers in the possession of the Turkish prisoners. The arms were not long in being restored, thanks to the complicity of the warders.

The school-teacher Mihof Andonof and Vassil Mitzoff, of the village of *Lezovo*, and Ilia Stofanoff, of the village of *Petrik*, who were released on the 20th February from the prison of Kumanovo, related that besides the frequent bastinados which they received in the prison, they had on several occasions been subjected to abominable tortures.

The Bulgarian political prisoners of the prison of Yedi-Kulé, at Salonica, addressed a collective request in the month of June 1906 to Hilmi Pasha and to the civil agents, in which they asked for measures to be taken against the Mussulman prisoners who are armed and threaten the Christians with massacre. They cited the following facts to support their appeal :

Two Turkish prisoners, Kutchuk Ahmed, of Salonica, and Mustapha, of Ishtib, armed with knives, came to blows on the 8th May ; Ahmed received several wounds, but the assailant managed to hide his knife. The authorities made no effort to find the prohibited weapon.

Two days later, on the 10th May, there was a fresh quarrel between Turkish prisoners in dungeon No. 2. Attracted by the noise, and believing that it was a fight between Christians and Mussulmans, the Turks from other dungeons, armed with all sorts of weapons, rushed in the direction of dungeon No. 2, ready to kill. A massacre was only averted by the discovery of the real state of affairs.

The correspondent of the *Temps* at Salonica wrote recently to his paper :

The consular body of Salonica, having been informed that 1,700 prisoners of all ages are shut up in the prison of Yedi-Kulé in deplorable hygienic conditions, is taking steps to induce the local authority to have this state of things remedied.

They have besides called the attention of the authorities to the fact that the majority of these people have been imprisoned for months without any proof of guilt, and that, in spite of incessant demands, these unfortunate prisoners have not succeeded in appearing before the examining magistrate. Petitions to the same effect have been addressed to the Inspector-General and to the civil agents.

## C.—THE GENERAL INSECURITY

### I. TURKISH AND ALBANIAN BRIGANDAGE

**I**N the month of January 1905 a band of Albanian brigands went to the village of *Dolna-Bielitza*, and, without any cause, murdered the wife of the priest Christo and another woman, after which they carried off the villager Nicolas Pope Gheorghieff, with the view of getting a ransom for him. This band was composed of several Albanians of Dibré and of five villagers of Dolna-Bielitza—Ali Botko, and the four sons of Selim, Abedin, Delaver, Seifedin, and Nedjebedin. The authorities, informed in time, did nothing to punish the brigands, who were able to retire quietly.

Six Turks having encountered, about the same date, in the forest of *Pusta-Reka*, the two villagers Nicolas Dimitroff and his son Mikhaïl, bound them and kept them prisoners all day. In the evening they set free the father, and sent him to the village to get a sum of £T30 as ransom for his son. The unfortunate peasant had to sell all his belongings.

Another Turkish band encountered, on the same day, the two villagers André Velianoff and Nicolas Stoïanoff, of *Dolno-Diviatsi*, who were returning from the market of *Tzer*, and took the money which they carried (£T5), two bags of flour, and some clothes.

Two Christians of *Lazaropolé*, who were on their way to Uskub on business, accompanied by a gendarme, were captured by an Albanian band which exacted a ransom of £T200.

The mayor of the same village of *Lazaropolé*, who was going to Dibré to pay in a sum of £T100, representing the

taxes of his community, was also captured by an Albanian band. The two gendarmes who accompanied him took flight.

On the 14th March, 1905, six villagers and some women were stopped and robbed by an Albanian band as they returned from the market of *Ishtib*. The women were undressed and left naked in a ditch.

On the 21st March seven Turkish bandits, armed with Gras rifles, attacked, near the village of *Babino*, the peasants Silian Miteff and Fidan Zdraveff, of *Babino*, Spas Beleff and Vassil Ilieff, of *Dolentzi* (nahié of *Demir-Hissar*), who were returning from the market of *Monastir*. After having bound them, they took their purses and split open the bags of corn which they carried. They then went off unmolested with the seven horses of their victims, taking a load whose value, added to that of the money stolen, amounted to £T5½. When, after great efforts, the unfortunate peasants managed to untie themselves and presented themselves about 9 o'clock at the "Isabel" tower to complain to the soldiers, the latter abused them and drove them away, declaring that such acts could only be committed by *comitadjis*.

Eight Arnauts attacked, on the 23rd May, 1905, at *Han-Deressi*, in the neighbourhood of *Topolnitza*, *caza* of *Petritch*, some wool-merchants of *Saviak*, *caza* of *Demir-Hissar*. Three of these latter, *Ilia Todoroff Marvakoff*, *Iani Partchoff*, and *Gheorghi T. Alikotchoff*, were taken alive, the fourth succeeded in escaping. The bandits carried off on a mule all that they found on their captives, whose corpses were discovered some days later near *Rupel*, *caza* of *Demir-Hissar*, where the river *Struma* had cast them up. The three victims had been tied together by the neck, and had their hands bound behind their backs.

*Stefo Nicoloff*, *Dimitri Tzvetkoff*, and *Christo Tzvetkoff*, of *Krushevo*, did business as tinkers in the village of *Babani*, nahie of *Beglik*, *caza* of *Kortcha*. In the night

of the 25th March, 1905, some Turks, having forced the door of their dwelling, tortured them and took from them £T6, 20 medjidies, and 50 okes of copper. The tinkers complained next day to the mudir of Beglik, to the mutessarif of Kortcha, and by telegram to the vali. The authorities of Kortcha, on these complaints, arrested the owner of the house they lived in and two other Turks, but immediately released them.

Towards the end of the month of March 1905, the peasants Spassé Inghilieff, Vané Vassileff, Ilia Markoff, Vassilitza Sidorova, etc., of the villages of *Kossinetz* and *Luboishité*, каза of Kastoria, were robbed, while going to the market of Biglishta, by a Turkish band, in which was the celebrated bandit Ismail Talir, of Trastinik.

In the early part of the month of April 1905 a Turkish band attacked four peasants of the villages of *Dolentsi* and *Babino*, nahie of Demir-Hissar. The peasants were coming from Monastir, and were carting merchandise. The bandits took their horses, and then tied them to trees along the road.

Five villagers of *Mrenoga* encountered, in the first half of the month of June, four Turks, well armed, who fired on them for no reason, and managed to kill Nicolas Naidenof. The others succeeded in escaping to Monastir, where they informed the authorities, and denounced the criminals. The murderers were not pursued.

During the months of May and June 1905 the brigand chief Demir ordered several villages of the cazas of *Tetovo* and *Gostivar* to pay him sums varying from £T10 to £T30.

Another brigand, Azir, of the village of Orkush, imposed taxes also on the villagers. He exacted from the inhabitants of *Mitrevi-Christi* a sum of £T15, of *Sushitza* £T10, 20 lbs. of tobacco and eight complete suits. He took two boys from the village of Mitrevi-Christi as hostages for the payment of the tax demanded.

In the first half of the month of June, at the head of a

strong band, the same Azir visited *Vrutok* and *Leshnitza*. He exacted the sum of £T50 from each of these villages. The inhabitants of *Vrutok* hastened to pay a sum of £T10, and asked a delay of some days for the rest. Those of *Leshnitza*, in uttermost poverty, were not able to pay anything. To punish them, Azir set fire to a house and three sheds, besides threatening to burn all the village if they did not hurry up and pay the tax.

Some days later, on the 20th June, Azir captured a boy of eleven, Yakim Kiroff, of the same village of *Leshnitza*. He demanded a sum of £T15 to release him.

During the month of July the Albanian brigand Shakir, of the village of *Veliko-Bardo*, carried off the servant of the monastery of St. John, *caza* of *Dibré*, and demanded a ransom of £T100 to release him. The ransom not having been paid at the date fixed, he beheaded the servant, and sent the head to the monastery.

At the same date other Albanian brigands captured six peasants of the village of *Lazaropolé*, of the same *caza*, and demanded a heavy ransom.

In the very town of *Dibré*, chief town of the sandjak, under the nose of the prefect, the Albanian band of Mustapha Djeka, of *Voishta*, carried off the Christian Tané Ivanoff Tzintzar, from whom he demanded £T60 ransom to be paid in two days, or £T120 if the time was exceeded.

A young miller of *Kanitza*, Traïtché Lazaroff, was carried off by another band. The brigands informed the mother of the captive that she must pay a sum of £T65. When the mother went to see the chief of the brigands, this latter, to frighten the unfortunate woman, pulled four of her son's teeth and gave them to his mother, to be carried with a letter to the prefect of *Dibré*. At the same time the brigand caused a boy of fifteen, whose relations had not paid his ransom, to be decapitated before her eyes.

When the mother told all this to the prefect of *Dibré*, he merely shrugged his shoulders by way of answer. The mother managed to get together the ransom by selling all her belongings and appealing to the pity of her neighbours.

On the 15th July an Albanian band, under the command of Atem Ela, captured the Bulgarian septuagenarian Marco Jossifoff, of the village of *Laftchani*, and took him to Dolno-Blatza, caza of Dibré.

In the same month the Albanian Destan Tolé carried away from Dibré the Bulgarian Tané Ivanoff, took him to the village of Contra, and fixed his ransom at £T200.

In the same month other Albanian brigands carried off five hundred sheep from Philip Clavé, of the village of *Galitchnik*.

On the 18th June, in the neighbourhood of the village of *Bartonik*, caza of Demir-Hissar, five brigands having captured the Bulgarian shepherds Ivan Mitsoff, Kuzman Nasteff, Stefan Tixanoff, and Nasté Risteff, took them into the mountains. An hour afterwards they sent Nasté Risteff to the village to collect a ransom of £T20. With great difficulty £T15 were got together. Then the brigands captured a young man of the neighbouring village of *Jelesnik*, and exacted £T10 more for his ransom.

During the month of August 1905, in the caza of Gostivar, - Demir Lakavishki imposed a ransom of £T50 on the village of *Turtchani*. The notable Tirpo Ivanoff, captured by him, had to pay £T50. The village of *Kunovo* paid £T40, the village of *Mitrevi-Karsti* £T15, the village of *Sushitza* £T10.

In the same month Azir Orkush exacted payment of £T50 from the village of *Vrutok*, £T40 from the village of *Potchkovo*, £T15 from the village of *Leshnitza*.

At the same date, in the caza of Kitchevo, an Albanian band, numbering twenty men, surrounded the village of *Sveto-ratché*. Four bandits entered the village and shot Kitan Mitzkoff. Nakim Prodanoff was severely wounded. The other villagers succeeded in hiding themselves. The brigands, after having laid violent hands on all they could carry away, went off with a great number of cattle and horses.



On the 17th October a Turkish band laid hands on Spassé Dimoff, Velian Risteff, Vassil Traitcheff, Costa Filipoff, and Stotan Lazaroff, of the village of *Bazdermik*, nahie of Demir-Hissar. Arrived at their retreat, the brigands sent two of the captives into the village to demand a ransom of £T85. This sum was to be sent back by midnight. The next day, the relatives of the hostages presented themselves at the rendezvous; they there found the corpses of Spassé Dimoff and Velian Risteff. On the ground lay the bodies of the other victims; the unfortunate men were still alive, but in a lamentable state, all unconscious. Velian Fidanoff alone had succeeded in escaping. The wounded were taken to Monastir. One died on arrival.

On the 6th November a Turkish band encountered the Bulgarian Ilian Silianoff, of *Soponitza*, caza of Monastir, Tzvetan Risteff, Kuzman Pavlofsky, of *Ivan*, and several other villagers. They killed the first two and severely wounded the third; the others succeeded in escaping. The band captured ten horses loaded with merchandise.

On the 14th November three Albanians, driving flocks, having encountered four Bulgarian charcoal burners occupied in making wood charcoal, at some distance from the village of *Gradetz*, caza of Tikvesh, fired on them. Nicolas Ivanoff fell dead. The Albanians threw themselves on the three comrades, Velik Baltchinoff, Dimitri Agoff, and Gheorghii Uzunoff, and beat them unmercifully. The unfortunates were left dying on the ground. The Albanians went off carrying away four horses, after having taken their victims' watches and £T7.

The Bulgarian peasants Petré Goreff, Mitzé Iankoff, Christo Naidenoff, and Costa Stephanoff, who were returning, on the 11th November, 1905, from Krushevo to *Virovo*, caza of Demir-Hissar, were attacked by some Turks, armed and masked. The care which the latter had taken to disguise themselves proves that they must have belonged to the neighbouring villages. The worst ill-treatment was

inflicted on the above-named Bulgarians, who were robbed of four pieces of *chaiak*, moccasins, hats, and 400 to 500 piastres. A complaint having been made to the mudir of Pribile, twenty soldiers with two gendarmes were sent against the bandits. But far from troubling to arrest the guilty persons, these troops went to the village of Ristoltza, whose mayor they seized and the notables Silian Sabatkoff, Nasho Alexoff, Sarbin Gheorghieff, Traitcho Nedelkoff, and Andro Bogoeff. Brutally used in a thousand ways, these poor men were taken towards the town, but, after one hour's march, they were released with no explanation.

On the 21st of November, 1905, Anghel Galaboff and his son Ilia, masons, of Katuntzi, caza of Melnik, were attacked and murdered by a Turkish band at one hour's walk from the village of *Piperitza*. The authorities, instead of punishing the murderers, confined themselves to keeping the mayor and an aza of the Bulgarian village of Piperitza in prison for two days.

On the 18th December, 1905, the Bulgarians Gheorghi Stoianoff, accompanied by his daughter, and Christo Gheorghieff, accompanied by his mother, were surrounded by a Turkish band, at half an hour's walk from the Turkish village of *Debrushnitza*, caza of Strumitza. After taking their purses, the bandits stripped the two men and shot them; the two women were left free. The bandits went off with the horse of Gheorghi.

On the 16th June, 1906, the kodjabashi of the village of *Rossiki* went to Dibré accompanied by a gendarme. Arriving before the prefecture, he was attacked by the notorious brigand Kiamil Datz, who knocked him down and beat him for a long time under the very eyes of the gendarme and several functionaries, who dared not interfere. The motive was this: the village of Rossiki had not yet paid a fine of £T1,000 imposed by Kiamil Datz three years before, and for the non-payment of that fine Kiamil Datz has once burned the village to the ground, a part having been since rebuilt.

The latest bastinado of the kodjabashi was a demand, with threats, to pay the sum.

At the end of June 1906 the band of the brigand chief Ramadan laid hands on Tontché Taneff, Grigor Petroff, and Koté Krastanoff, of the village of *Svinishta*, caza of Okhrida, and demanded a heavy ransom under threat of executing the prisoners. The ransom not being forthcoming, the band murdered Tontché Taneff; Krastanoff succeeded in escaping.

Koné Vassileff, of the village of *Stravié*, was captured by Turkish brigands during the month of July.

Toshé Petroff, of the village of *Gostiregié*, was also captured by Turkish bandits.

A strong Albanian band entered, on the 30th July, the village of *Tzer*, caza of Monastir, and carried off as hostages the Bulgarians Gheorghi Ilieff, Dimtché Ilieff, Christé Trajanoff, Nikodim Simeff, Naiden Tiloff, and Todor. The chief of this band demanded £T75 as ransom. The village of Tzer and the neighbouring villages could only collect 44 napoleons. The band released the prisoners, but declared that if the difference was not paid, all the inhabitants of the village of Tzer would be massacred.

During the month of July the famous brigands Azir, of Orkush, and Demir Lakavitza, captured, with their bands, the Bulgarians Dimitre Antoneff, Jordan Radeff, and the woman Ephrosia Storcova, of the village of *Debreshé*. After having kept their captives for several days, they received a ransom of £T150 to release them.

On the 12th August the same bandits captured the following Bulgarians of the village of *Vrabtchishta*: Christu Simianoff, Tomo Strezoff, Mato Nestoroff, and Tzeno Stefanoff. For the release of the prisoners the brigands received £T200.

On the 25th August they attacked, while working in the fields, the villagers Spiro Jacovtcheff, Pavlé Todoroff, and Dimco Eftroff, of the village of *Zubovtzi*, and captured

them, ordering their wives and children to produce with the shortest delay a sum of £T50 for each of the prisoners.

Four days later, on the 29th August, the same brigands carried off two Bulgarians from the village of *Blatsé*, whom they released next day for a sum of £T110.

An Albanian band surrounded, on the 29th August, the convent of Sv. Bogoroditza, near the village of *Matka*, caza of Uskub, and there killed the Bulgarian Bogdan Andréeff, of Uskub.

On the 28th January, 1905, some Turks of the villages of Lefedjya and Kara Baïr having found the flocks of the brothers Djevelecoff of the village of *Cavakly*, vilayet of Adrianople, bound the shepherd, stunned him with blows, and carried off 105 sheep. The tracks of the sheep were followed to Lefedjya, but the Government agents refused to look in the village itself.

On the 5th March last a Bulgarian merchant of *Kutchuk-Tyrnovo*, Ivan Diacoff, and the Bulgarian schoolmistress Stoïanova, were encountered by four armed Turks and robbed of a sum of £T45.

Some Turks pillaged the fulling-mill of the village of *Koevo*. They took sixteen pieces of cloth and a horse.

## II. THE MUSSULMAN COMMITTEES AND THEIR BANDS

A Turkish band attacked on the 16th February, 1905, the Bulgarian village of *Oran*. The inhabitants having repulsed the aggressors, some troops came to the help of the Mussulmans, who managed thus to escape.

Two other bands attacked on three occasions the villagers of *Gradrishité* and *Zebernik*, in the same district, killed eight of them, and wounded several others to rob them.

The Mussulman Committee of Kumanovo caused the assassination, towards the end of February 1905, of three Christians of the village of *Konopnitsa*, who were going from Kumanovo to Palanca.

A Turkish band murdered on the 9th April, 1905, in the evening, the peasants, Stoïan Miteff, Velko Kotzoff, Traïko

Doneff, and Vassili Athanassoff, of the village of *Murtino*, caza of Strumitza. These unfortunates were killed while driving their flocks home to the village. Among others, the two rural policemen of the Turkish village of Lansco were recognised in the band.

On the 4th June some agents of the Mussulman Committee killed the Christian rural policeman of the village of *Dolno-Trotgherzi*, caza of Ishtib, Zaphir Maximoff. The corpse was mutilated.

On the 9th June some agents of the Mussulman Committee murdered two villagers of *Ulantzi*.

On the same day a boy of fourteen, Kolé Ivanoff, was killed by Turks between the villages of *Edekientzi* and *Toplik*. The corpse was frightfully mutilated. Two villagers who passed at the time were also killed and mutilated.

In the caza of Strumitza a Turkish band murdered, during the month of July 1905, the peasants Ivan Placoff and Trypco, of the village of *Varvaritza*, who were working in their fields, after which the bandits violated the wife and the young daughter of Ivan.

The same day the same band entered the village of *Velio*, where it captured two peasants and their wives. The captives were killed with hatchets in the forest.

In the space of two weeks, in the beginning of July 1905, the following villagers were killed or wounded by the agents of the Turkish Committee of *Strumitza* :

Ivan Stoianoff, of the village of *Dukatmo*, killed.

Avram Janeff, twenty years old, same village, killed.

The mother of Avram, Dena, killed.

The sister of Avram, Ghiza, seriously wounded.

Traïco Dimitroff, of *Dedino*, seriously wounded.

Christo Athanassoff, twenty years, of *Dolny-Litovik*, killed.

Eftime Christoff, twenty years, of *Lubeitza*, killed.

Christo Kotzeff, twenty years, of *Dolno-Vrashtitza*, killed.

Christo Janin, fifty years, of *Baba*, killed.

Metchkar Ivan, of *Shipcovitza*, killed.  
 Pando Lazoff, twenty-two years, of *Raditchevo*, killed.  
 Stofan Petroff, twenty-two, of *Dukatino*, killed.  
 Mito Lazaroff, thirty-five, of *Radovish*, killed.  
 Tushé Gheorghieff, thirty, of *Radovish*, killed.  
 The young son of the preceding, ten years, killed.  
 Mito Bojnitcheff, thirty-five, of *Radovish*, killed.  
 Ivan Angheloff, twenty-two, of *Radovish*, killed.  
 Nicolas Stofanoff, thirty-nine, of *Radovish*, killed.  
 Pando Stofanoff, twenty, of *Radovish*, killed.

Ivan Mikharloff, of *Radovish*, and his workers were attacked, on the 20th July, by a band of the Mussulman Committee. The master was killed, his servant Traïco Kopeff carried off, his work-girls Zofa, Zlata, and Gouna (thirteen years old) violated.

The next day, another band of the Mussulman Committee attacked, in the fields of *Veliussa*, the family of Ilia Petroff, and carried off his wife and daughter.

This band captured on the same day the villagers Petre Ilieff and Tinio Kovatchot, whom they murdered in the forest.

The same day a Mussulman band killed the villager Mité Penine, of *Ritch*, whose son had been carried off three weeks before and murdered by the Turks.

Some *pomaks* (Bulgarian Mussulmans) of Drenovo, caza of Tikvesh, attacked, on the 18th July, 1905, the Bulgarian population of *Tchervados* (Tzarvets), caza of Perlepé. Surprised in the middle of the fields when busy at work, the peasants lost eleven men, six women, and bore away two wounded.

On the 20th July a Turkish band murdered, at half an hour's walk from *Petritch*, three Bulgarian shepherds, asleep near their flocks; these were Mitré, of the village of Igumenetz, Gostadin Traïkoff, of the village of Doleni, and Tassé, of the village of Igralishtë. The murderers put these unfortunates to death with a refinement of

cruelty ; afterwards they abused their corpses, and literally cut them in pieces.

On the 3rd September an Albanian band encountered, near the village of *Vintzi*, fourteen villagers who were returning home. The bandits wantonly fired on these unarmed villagers, killing eleven, among them a young girl of ten.

Two days later, on the 5th September, in the same caza of Kumanovo, some agents of the Turkish Committee killed a Vlach and a Bulgarian in a mill of the village of *Koïnaré*,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles from the chief town.

On the 11th September, 1905, a Turkish band attacked the Bulgarian Ilia Milzeff, of the village of *Aïtos*, caza of Florina. He was cutting wood when attacked ; he was left on the ground, wounded in two places.

On the evening of the same day, four Turks of the village of Givonia attacked in the mountains the shepherds Mitzé Stoïanoff, Ilé Dineff, Petré Stoïanoff, Kolé Mitzeff, and Mitzé Nicoleff, of the village of *Cetina*, caza of Florina. The first three were killed, the two others severely wounded.

On the 13th November, 1905, a young Mussulman herdsman was assassinated by agents of the Turkish Committee of *Keuprulu*, who met him outside the town and took him for a Bulgarian.

These same Turks killed, on the 18th November, Lazar Defanoff, of the village of *Svekiani*, while he was taking his flock back to the fold.

Lastly, on the evening of this same day the Bulgarians Todé Monteïff and Stoïko Lazaroff, of *Bogoslovets*, caza of Ishtib, were murdered by Turks, while grazing their flocks outside the village.

The Bulgarians Shego Tchukaroff, Zafir Tasseïff, and Yanko, were returning to *Ishtib*, on the 16th November, coming from *Sveti-Nicolé* ; they were driving thirteen asses and four horses loaded with merchandise. When they were arrived at a quarter of an hour's walk from Ishtib, a band of armed Turks attacked them and left them dead on the

ground. The bodies of these unfortunates were pierced all over by yataghan cuts. This abominable crime caused such an impression at Ishtib that it was decided that the town should give the victims an imposing funeral. In addition, in sign of mourning, the churches, schools, and shops were closed, and a protest telegraphed to Hilmi Pasha and to the civil agents.

On the 20th November the schoolmasters Ivan Gheorghieff and Boris Philippoff were murdered by a Turkish band at *Negotino* while they were taking a walk.

The same day the Bulgarian merchant Christo Stofantcheff was killed by the same band, in the same village.

On the 19th November this Turkish band had murdered the Bulgarians Dimitri Ivanoff, Dobré Dinoff, and another peasant. The same day several murders were committed by Turkish bands in the villages of *Kosheni*, *Ribartzi*, and *Rossoman*, of the caza of Tikvesh.

On the 20th November four Bulgarians of the village of *Boyantchishta* were murdered by Turkish bands.

On the 21st November the shepherd lad Bojine Stofanoff, a boy of fifteen years, was killed by Turkish fanatics.

Some days before, Milé Stofkoff, a Bulgarian of the village of *Kulia*, was murdered by Turks.

In the caza of Kumanovo, the Bulgarian Pavlé, of the village of *Givogné*, was killed by Turks near the place called Popovogumno.

At the same time some armed Turks carried off 130 sheep belonging to Nasko Tzvetkoff, and 134 sheep belonging to Traiko Christoff, of the village of *Ptchinia*.

On the 5th December the Bulgarians Anghel Galaboff and Ilia Angheloff Galaboff, father and son, natives of the village of Lovtcha, caza of Nevroco, masons by trade, were attacked by Turkish bandits near the village of *Piperitza*. The bandits, after mortally wounding them, beheaded them. The authorities, instead of punishing the murderers, arrested and kept two days in prison the mayor and a Bulgarian notable of Piperitza.



On the 18th December Eftim Stoiloff, of Nivitchino, caza of Strumitza, had gone to the mill of the village of Debrushitzi. As, after two days, he did not return, his relatives started out to look for him; they discovered his corpse, the head crushed by enormous stones, at some paces from two other corpses, those of Gheorghi Stoianoff and Christo Gheorghieff.

The two Bulgarians Stoiko and Stemen Mitzkoff, of the village of *Tribitcheno*, caza of Strumitza, were attacked the same month by another Turkish band as they were going to a wedding which was taking place in the adjacent village of Sedlartzi. The bandits murdered their victims with knives, after having bound their hands behind their backs. The military and civil authorities instituted no pursuit.

On the 30th December a certain Vangel Shigoff, a Bulgarian of the village of *Sveta-Petka*, caza of Demir-Hissar, was murdered by Turkish bandits near the Mussulman village of Pamesh, as he was going to the village of Shugovo. The unfortunate man was robbed by his murderers.

On the 12th January two Turks of the village of Nerezi killed the villager Blajé Thodoroff, of *Vodno*. The assassins, after committing the crime, went to Uskub with their arms and informed the committee.

A notable of the village of *Shopsco-Rudari*, Apostol Stanicheff, was murdered the same day by a Turk of the village of Jatchintzi and by one of his comrades who had taken part in the murder of the priest Alexander Zaharieff.

Still on the same day, the young man Bojin Dimeff, of the village of *Dalga*, was killed by an Albanian band.

On the 15th January, 1906, seven Bulgarians who were returning from the market at *Strumitza* were assailed, at two hours' journey from that town, at the place called *Bela-Reka*, by the Turkish band of Captain Issim Bey, of Veles. The bandits slew the unfortunate men with incredible savagery. The mutilated corpses were found by the inhabitants of Strumitza. The victims were Constantin, of the village of Debreitzi; Eftim Vasileff, of the village

of Vodotcha; Grigor Christoff, Boris Stoiloff, Aleco Stoiloff, these last two aged fourteen and twelve, Petré Donoff and Petré Pantcheff.

On the 21st January last a strong Turkish band entered the Bulgarian village of *Pirovo*, caza of Doiran. They made for the village public-house, where a considerable number of peasants were quietly taking their coffee. Immediately on their arrival, on the very threshold, the band fired on the crowd of drinkers. The Bulgarians P. Kafadaroff, Gheno Tchorlinoff, Mikhaïl Arabadjieff, Thodor Skendereff, P. Organdjieff, and two gipsies were killed; Grigor Todeff, Tasho Pavleff, Christo Pavleff, and Ilio Gogoff were seriously wounded. The woman Catherine Organdjieva, who passed on her way from the fountain, was also hit by a bullet. The bandits robbed the victims and retired unmolested, passing at a short distance from a post of military police, who made no movement.

At the end of the month of January the shepherd Trypco Ivanoff, of the village of *Divle*, caza of Uskub, was killed by a band of the Turkish Committee. Twenty-eight sheep which he was watching were carried off.

The next day another band of the Turkish Committee of Uskub attacked the house of Mité Naoumtcheff, of the village of *Sushitza*. Not succeeding in killing Naoumtcheff, the band set fire to his sheepfold and carried off thirty-seven head of cattle.

Some Turkish bands killed, on the 20th February, the Bulgarian Gheorghieff of Galishta, and on the 27th another Bulgarian, Manuel Petrovsky, of the village of *Doleni*, caza of Kastoria.

The Bulgarian priest Lazare, of the village of *Karnendol*, caza of Tikvesh, was killed on the 25th February by a Turkish band as he was returning to the village of Drenovo.

During the last days of February a Turkish band of eight men attacked, at *Inovo*, caza of Radovish, ten Bulgarians who were cutting wood. P. Stefanoff, Ilia Vaskoff, Gheorghii Christoff, Anghel Tomoff were seriously wounded. This

last, nineteen years old, received ten wounds ; he had to be sent to the hospital at Salonica.

On the 1st March another Turkish band killed, near the village of *Veshé*, also caza of Tikvesh, the Bulgarian villagers Constantin Ossata and his son-in-law Pano, returning from the market of Negotino.

A Turkish band attacked, on the 14th March, near the village of *Barovo*, caza of Tikvesh, the Bulgarians Kamtché, Mitreff, and Ando Kostadinoff. The two first were left dead on the ground ; the third died three hours afterwards, but was able to name two of the murderers, Abdul-Redjib and Adem Alun, of the same village.

The same band wounded, the same day, the peasant Dino Kamtcheff ; the latter recognised Ibrahim Hassan and Hussein Osman as members of the band.

On the 5th May two Turks attacked and robbed Elio Gotzeff, Mité Lazaroff, Tassé Petzeff, and eight other Bulgarians of the village of *Smiliantzi*, near the village of Poderesh.

On the 12th May the young girl Marie Miava, fourteen years old, was seriously wounded by a shot while working in a field near the village of *Gorni-Lipovik*.

The same day several armed Turks attacked, near the village of *Novo-Selo*, some Bulgarians who were returning from the market of Radovich. The woman Christana Stottcheva, thirty-five years old, received five dagger wounds and was robbed.

On the 15th May a Turkish band laid hands on Nicolas Gamine and Stano, called Kerpovtcheto, sixteen years old, both of the village of *Stranashevo*, caza of Tikvesh. Their corpses were found several days afterwards. Nicolas Gamine had been shot and Stano hanged. The authorities caused the corpses to be buried, but took no measures to destroy the band, which had been sowing terror in the district for a long time.

On the 28th May an armed Turkish band, passing at some distance from the village of *Tribitchino*, having encountered a certain Vesselin Angheloff, sixty years old, who was going

to the market at Strumitza, fired from a distance on the unfortunate man. Angheloff, wounded in the arm, managed to escape.

Here are some of the crimes committed by Turkish bands in the space of a few days in the neighbourhood of *Kotchani* alone :

Eleven peasants of the village of *Spantchevo*, working in the vineyards, were massacred by a Turkish band on the 19th May, about four o'clock in the afternoon.

The same band killed, the same day, two peasants of the village of *Sokolartzi*, who were working in the fields. These were Niko Djevadjisky, aged seventy, and Trajan Ianeff, twenty-eight, married only two months before.

On the 17th May Ivan and Ilia, of the village of *Bigla*, and Eftim, of *Pekliani*, were killed as they were returning from Vinitza.

Stoian, of *Kutchinovo*, was killed not far from the Turkish village of Vidovishta. His brother, Christo, managed to escape without being hit by the shots of the bandits.

The son of Stoian, ten years old, and Savé Traitchoff, of the village of *Pripetchani*, were captured, then released for a ransom of £T2, given by Traitchoff, who also was subjected to ill-treatment by the Turks.

A Turkish band, forty men strong, entered on the 22nd June the village of *Spatovo*, caza of Melnik, and laid hands on the Bulgarian Nicolas Mitoff, his old father, and his mother Stoianka. The unfortunate people were horribly tortured by the bandits and then put to death. The wife of Mitoff, named Sofka, his sister Zlata, and their two children, Lenka, six years old, and Dimitri, two years, were carried off.

Four women were murdered by Turks at *Gornia-Sushitza* about the same date.

At the end of June a Turkish band murdered, at the place called Domuz-Ovassi, the Bulgarian Ivan Mitzeff, of the village of *Bigla*, and the rural policeman Ilia, of the village of *Kalimantzi*. The same band, after committing these two crimes, murdered at the village of *Vinitza* the Bulgarian Eftim.

Another Turkish band burned the house of the Bulgarian notable Gotché Stoïanoff, of the village of *Kukovo*.

In the first half of the month of July a Turkish band, numbering eighteen men, entered the village of *Spantchevo*. They laid hands on eleven Bulgarians, and, after cruelly torturing them, murdered them. The murdered men were: Jako Arsoff, his sons Stavré, Andon, Antcho; and Sazo Anastas Mishkoff, Yané Arsoff, Serafim Saharieff, Nisso Christoff, Nisso Mishenoff, George Yaneff, and George Maneff. The same Turkish band killed in addition, on the same day, a certain Santo Nakoff, of the village of *Raïtchano*.

In the morning of the 9th July the Bulgarian Dimé Angheloff, of Doïran, was returning from the market of Porol, каза of Demir-Hissar, in the company of Christo Matzine, when, on getting near the village of *Tchail*, каза of Doïran, he was attacked by the men of a Turkish band and left dead on the spot. The bandits then contented themselves with taking £T3 from the companion of the victim.

Another Turkish band entered the village of *Kneja*, каза of Ishtib, at the end of July, and severely wounded the villagers Traïcov Savtcheff, Gheorghî Satoreff, and Ando Dimoff.

The Bulgarians Spasso Ilieff and Mité Keioff, of the village of *Savek*, каза of Demir-Hissar, were killed by Turks on the road to Serres. The Government arrested, in place of the criminals, the relatives and friends of the victims: Diné Matzan, Stoïan Gatchoff, Nicolas Tchepercoff, Spas Manorloff, Constantin Pantodjjeff, and St. Visnoff.

On the 9th July, 1906, the priest Kuzman, of the village of *Babino*, каза of Monastir, was attacked near *Sopotnitsa* by Turks who had ambushed themselves on each side of the road. The murderers, after cutting off their victim's head, burned his corpse. A military doctor, sent to the spot to make an inquiry, learning that two Italian officers of gendarmerie were about to arrive, hurriedly caused the remains of the victim to be buried.

A Turkish band attacked, on the 6th August, 1906, in the

neighbourhood of *Petritch*, vilayet of Salonica, the Bulgarian charcoal-burners, Gligore Nedeltcheff and Athanas Itcheff; the two unfortunates were tortured and then killed. No pursuit was undertaken against this band.

The Bulgarian Smilé Kuleff, of the village of *Farosh*, caza of Tikvesh, was killed on the 23rd August, 1906, by a Turkish band. The bandits were not punished.

### III. TURKISH DRAGONADES

Four Christians of the village of *Poptchishta*, Morihovo, going hunting on the 10th January, 1905, met a detachment of soldiers, who attacked and murdered them.

A deputation from the village of *Shteguntzi*, district of Kukush, arrived at Salonica in the month of February to complain to the vali and the civil agents of the outrages of the soldiers quartered in their village. The priest of the village, who headed the deputation, told, amongst other things, that as he was celebrating the Mass ten soldiers entered the church, smashed everything, and threw down the sacramental bread and wine. The priest addressed himself directly to Hilmi Pasha, but the latter paid no heed to his complaint. The church was simply closed for a long time under pretence that the case was going to be examined.

About the end of the month of March a soldier entered the shop of Mikhaïl Stoimenoff, at *Kumanovo*, and placed a bomb there. Having been noticed by the shopkeeper, the soldier consented to take back his present for a sum of 3 medjidiés.

On the 16th March, in the same town, two other soldiers tried to place bombs in the shop of Golomiekhoff, hoping thus to extract money from him. Being noticed by two other shopkeepers, they went away laughing.

A detachment of soldiers and bashi-bazouks passing near the village of *Dambeki* on the 24th March, 1905, maltreated all the peasants who were in the fields, as well as the rural policeman. The farmer Athanas Mitreff was killed in his own vineyard.

At the end of the month of April, soldiers murdered near the village of *Hassanovo* Delio Toleff, Traico Karamintcheff, Tantcho Diacoff, and Dino Shrakoff. The soldiers on leaving placed pistols and cutlasses beside their victims so that they should be taken for *comitadjis*.

On the 11th April two soldiers murdered, in the field where he was ploughing, a certain Eftim Manoff, of *Doliani*, caza of Ishtib.

The next day four soldiers having met a peasant carrying two letters, tortured him terribly till he told that these letters had been given him by a schoolmaster called Vladimir Sazdoff. Then leaving the peasant unconscious, they went to the village of *Sveti-Nicolé* and summarily hanged the unfortunate schoolmaster.

About the same date, Apostol, of the village of *Orel*, was murdered.

Five soldiers encountered a certain Mano Efremoff and his daughter-in-law, beat the former mercilessly, and violated the woman before his eyes.

A detachment of troops visited the village of *Sofilaré*, where the soldiers put several notables to ransom, after cruelly ill-using them.

On the 5th April the soldiers killed Kotzé Potzeff, a Bulgarian notable, of *Kratovo*.

On the 24th April a soldier fired on a certain Kolé Popoff, of the village of *Sudik*. The latter managed to escape. A little farther on, the same soldier killed the villager Kolé Manoff, of the village of *Knejé*. Some ten crimes of this nature were committed in the space of a week in the caza of Ishtib alone. All the murderers escaped with impunity.

On the 22nd May some soldiers killed in the village of *Raditchevo* a certain Kotzé who was returning from the market of Radovish.

On the 28th May the soldiers killed the villager Kotzé Passoff, of *Dolno-Troghertzi*, caza of Ishtib.

On the 17th June a reservist of Okhrida shot, near the town, without any cause, a Christian whom he met by the

way, Climé Padjievsky, and severely wounded another, Eftim Topentcharoff. The murderer was not prosecuted.

During the month of April 1905, an old man, Gheorghi Jantcheff, was killed near his village of *Messimer* by the soldiers stationed there. To explain their whim, the soldiers declared they had met him carrying food to the insurgents. Now not a crumb of bread was found on the corpse nor in its proximity. The soldiers were not proceeded against for this crime.

Several soldiers of Vodena went to *Nissia*, where they tortured three villagers without cause. One of the latter expired next day in consequence of the maltreatment, and the two others were seriously ill. The authorities, before whom the case was brought, did not prosecute the offenders.

On the 9th August, at a short distance from the village of *Sveti-Nicolé*, caza of Ishtib, at the place called Yugovo, the Bulgarian peasants Nako Sheneff, Milan Misheff, and Christo Miteff were spending the night in order to work at the harvest next day. They had with them their wives and daughters.

The night had hardly come when four soldiers and three Turkish villagers of Tzarilishté appeared ; they rushed on the Bulgarians, bound them, beat them with large sticks, and then, under their eyes, violated Suta Smilova, Sava Sheneva, and Dama Kiroteva.

On the 6th September the Bulgarian Costadin Malamoff, of *Belebeshtevo*, was half killed by two soldiers.

On the 9th September ten soldiers attacked the Bulgarian peasant Athanas Gheorghieff while he was working in a field ; the poor man has ever since been seriously ill.

At *Kliutch*, caza of Petritch, in the beginning of the month of September, three Bulgarians who encountered a band of fifteen soldiers were disembowelled with bayonets and left dead on the ground. The murderers were not punished.

On the night of the 10th September some Turkish soldiers attacked near *Kotovo*, caza of Melnik, three Bulgarian shepherds ; one of them, Ivan Taneff, was killed : the others managed to escape.



On the evening of the next day three Turkish soldiers seized the three Bulgarian shepherds Tanur Ivanoff, of *Polianitsa*, Tasho, of *Bodjovo*, and Nicolas Zlatkoff, twelve years old, of *Belebeshtevo*, and cruelly ill-used them to make them reveal the place where the insurgent chief Sandansky was. As the unfortunate men could not say, the soldiers bound them and then fired at them ; two were at once killed. Zlatkoff, who was wounded, recognised one of the murderers, a certain Ismail Hadji Costché.

The priest Grigore, superior of the Bulgarian convent of Sveti-Arhanghel, of the village of *Tchitchevo*, caza of Keuprulu, was going to the convent on the 17th September, accompanied by his wife and child, when he met on the road to Gradsko some redifs who were drilling. Several soldiers attacked them ; the wife and child escaped, but the priest was killed. The next day his body was found horribly mutilated.

Thirty soldiers in garrison at the village of Makovo, caza of Perlepé, went on the 14th October to the neighbouring village of *Orlé*, and laid hands on all the winter provisions of the village. All the hens were eaten on the spot or carried away. The beehive of Traiko Nardoff was also taken. On returning to Makovo, the soldiers seized two sheep which were being driven by the shepherd Risté Gazoff. The villagers of *Orlé* were besides forced by the soldiers to supply two loads of firewood per house.

On the 12th October, at *Lubetino*, caza of Florina, a soldier armed with a Mauser, perceiving at a short distance the Bulgarian rural policeman Mitzé Tchralacoff, fired a shot at him ; the man fell severely wounded.

In the month of November 1905, in the caza of Kotchani, a Turkish soldier fired on the Bulgarian priest Yakon, of the village of *Nivitchani*, and severely wounded him ; the soldier was not punished.

Near the village of *Beli*, in the same caza, a soldier met the Bulgarian Simeon Smilhoff, asked him for money, and

as the poor wretch could not satisfy him, stretched him on the ground with a bayonet-stab.

On the same day, at a short distance from the same place, some Turkish soldiers murdered the Bulgarian Yanaki, his wife, and his two sons. The authorities were informed, but refused to look for the criminals.

In the caza of Kratovo, on the 19th November, Petrush Nakoff, a Bulgarian of the village of *Givalovo*, was killed by soldiers.

The next day the soldiers murdered the Bulgarian Yordan Nicoloff, of the village of *Seculitza*.

Some soldiers quartered in the village of *Petrovo* assaulted the Bulgarian Gheorghi Taneff with clubs to try to extort money from him.

About the middle of the month of January the Bulgarian Nicolas Costadinoff Kirimitchi, of the village of *Belebeshtevo*, caza of Keuprulu, was murdered by three soldiers, who stripped their victim of his clothes, and left the body naked and frightfully mutilated on the ground.

On the 28th March, 1906, the Bulgarian Ilia Dalcoff, of the village of *Banitsa*, returning from the market of Surovitch, was attacked by the guard of Kili-Dervent. The soldiers fired several times, and it was a miracle that he managed to escape by running. His horse, loaded with merchandise and provisions, was captured by the soldiers.

On the same day the Bulgarians Filé Nicoloff, Vané Lazaroff, Tego Kideloff, and Stefo Christeff, of the village of *Gornitchevo*, caza of Florina, were returning from market to their village when they encountered a detachment of soldiers. The latter immediately laid hands on the villagers and took them to the edge of the Lake of Petresko. Filé Nicoloff had succeeded in taking flight, but he was retaken by three soldiers in the vineyards of Gornitchevo, quite near the village. Many peasants were working in the fields at this time; the women implored the soldiers to let Filé Nicoloff go; they would listen to nothing, and took the unfortunate man to where the other captives were. When

it was getting late, the relatives of the captives discovered their decapitated corpses. The four men had been killed with knives; all had their throats cut. The local authorities made an inquiry without result, and ordered the burial of the corpses before the arrival of the Italian officer.

On the 19th April a certain Petré Vassef, of the village of *Inevo*, caza of Radovish, was killed by soldiers. The military authorities, under pretext of looking for the accomplices, cruelly beat eleven Bulgarians of the same village.

On the 12th May the Bulgarian Doné Malkoff, of the village of *Hirsovo*, caza of Melnik, was cruelly beaten by soldiers.

At *Kyrtchevo*, caza of Demir-Hissar, on the 15th May, the woman Nevenka Tchalykova, whose husband has been in Bulgaria for six or seven years, was murdered in her house by Turkish soldiers. She leaves two children.

On the 21st June, 1906, Trypcó Topuzoff, of the village of *Kronimir*, caza of Enidjé-Vardar, afflicted with insanity, was mortally wounded by soldiers.

The Bulgarian Elia Petroff, of the village of *Yeni-Keuy*, caza of Serres, was attacked on the 1st July by a band of Turkish soldiers, who gave him eleven stabs with the bayonet. The police, in order to shield the soldiers, arrested and imprisoned five Bulgarian shepherds.

The Bulgarian Lazare Trandafiloff, of the village of *Stinik*, caza of Petritch, was killed by rifle-shots by some soldiers while returning from the market of Novo-Selo.

At the same date the Bulgarian Anghel, of the village of *Novo-Selo*, caza of Strumitza, was shot and killed, also by a soldier. This soldier was one of a patrol.

In the same month the soldiers killed, at some distance from Ishtib, for amusement's sake, the Bulgarian Jordan Rutinoff.

On the 3rd August the Bulgarians Christo Nicoff, of *Sarakinovo*, and Velko, of *Moriovo*, were terribly beaten, without any reason, by the same soldiers.

The same day Simeon Djodjoff, schoolmaster at

*Pechtchevo*, was attacked by two soldiers, who severely wounded him.

The soldiers quartered in the village of *Vladimirovo*, caza of *Pechtchevo*, killed, on the 9th August, without any reason, the Bulgarian *Petre Ujeff*, and severely wounded his son.

The next day, in the same caza, the soldiers of *Berovo* killed a Bulgarian shepherd in the forest.

A young man of the village of *Batchevo*, caza of *Razlog*, *Constantin Zavorinoff*, and his comrade *Anghel Pessof*, of the village of *Nedobarsco*, trying to return to their village from Bulgaria, where they were earning a living, were taken by a Turkish post on the frontier and sent to *Mekhomia*. Arrived at the place called *Dincov-Dol*, the soldiers killed their prisoners, without having any cause to be displeased with them.

On the 29th August, at half an hour's distance from the village of *Smiliantzi*, caza of *Strumitza*, were found the corpses of the Bulgarians *Lazare Miteff*, *Thodore Stoianoff*, *Tassé Lassoff*, and *Kitane Stoianoff*. The unfortunate men had been killed with bayonets, certainly by soldiers.

### *In the Vilayet of Adrianople*

On the 7th November, 1904, the 4th Regiment of Rifles arrived at the village of *Dert-Keuy*, caza of *Kirk-Klissé*, to pass the winter. As there are no barracks in the village, the soldiers drove a great many families from their houses and took their places. In a few days they destroyed the hedges of houses and gardens, furniture, and several buildings, to procure themselves firewood. For the same purpose they cut down the wood belonging to the church.

On the 22nd November these soldiers opened the church, broke the ikons, tore the curtains, and took away everything that seemed valuable.

The villagers were obliged to go errands for the soldiers, who very often forced them to go to *Kutchuk-Tyrnovo*, three hours' walk. Some villagers refusing to obey, were terribly beaten.

At *Kovtchas*, the soldiers destroyed, at the end of December 1904, the majority of the houses, the inhabitants of this village being in Bulgaria. Complaint was made of the vandalism of the soldiers, but nothing done to stop it.

Those same soldiers demolished several houses of the village of *Tas-Tepé*, whose inhabitants were also in Bulgaria.

During the month of January 1905, six villagers of *Urum Begli*, going to Kirk-Klissé, were encountered by soldiers, who stripped them of all they carried, even of their clothes; they beat them terribly in addition. These same villagers were met some moments later by new recruits, who amused themselves by getting on their backs and making them carry them like beasts of burden.

In the month of February 1905, some soldiers pillaged the church of the village of *Kara-Kotch*, caza of Kirk-Klissé.

During the month of March 1905, the captain of the detachment of *Jana* imposed a tax of £T½ on the peasants per head for the benefit of his men.

The commandant of Deré-Keuy beat the notables four times because they had not exerted themselves to serve him. The soldiers cut down the woods and stole sheep. They killed two villagers of *Gramaticovo* whom they met on the road.

On the 4th March, 1905, soldiers killed the villager Gheorgi Christoff, of *Enikeuy*, caza of Kirk-Klissé, who had gone in search of his cattle.

On the same day the soldiers of *Kadievo* beat, without cause, several inhabitants of this village, among them Philip Radoslavoff.

On the 5th May two soldiers of the village of Kavakly beat two shopkeepers, Kotcoff and Dicoff, who refused them money.

On the 6th March, 1906, two Turkish soldiers who were resting at the place called *Shiol-Baba*, near Adrianople,

caught sight of seven Bulgarians of the village of *Ak-Bunar*, and demanded bread from them. The latter gave them some. Some minutes later there passed three other Bulgarians, Kostadin Christoff and Gheorghi Nicoloff, of the village of *Ak-Bunar*, and Kolio Mitreff, of the village of *Muratchali*. The two soldiers, on their approach, at once took aim at them, and then one of them searched the three men and took from them £T3, a napoleon, and 12 piastres. The peasants went to the village of *Golem Dubuk*, and, having complained to the muliazim, the latter, accompanied by two gendarmes and two armed policemen, went to look for the two soldiers. They succeeded in coming up with them; but as the soldiers seemed ready to defend themselves, the muliazim beat a retreat with his men, declaring to the victims that to punish the soldiers was impossible.

At the end of July a Turkish officer, accompanied by several soldiers, went to the village of *Kulata*, caza of Kirk-Klissé. There, having forced the door of the shop of the Bulgarian Athanas Todoroff, which was shut on that day, he plundered it.

At the same date the soldiers of a patrol robbed and cruelly beat Nicolas Péeff, Gheorghi Nicoloff, and Stanco Gheorghieff, all of Kirk-Klissé.

In the same caza Dimitri Gheorghieff, of the village of *Kovtchaz*, was attacked by three soldiers, who took his watch and the money which he carried.

#### IV. MURDERS COMMITTED OR ATTEMPTED BY PRIVATE INDIVIDUALS

On the 16th January, 1905, Jordé Petrusheff, sugar merchant at *Kumanovo*, and Ivan Vratowski, servant of Mustapha Bey Atcher, going, the former to the mill and the latter to a wedding in his native village, were killed near the mill of "Dobrochanska." The assassins—five Arnouts of the village of Cilianovtzi—were not arrested by the authorities.

Eight Albanians laid hands, on the 5th April, in the neighbourhood of the village of *Topolnitsa*, caza of Petritch, on the peasants Ilia Tcherdanoff, Marvakoff, Jano Pavloff, and Gheorghi Altikotchoff, of the village of Saviek, caza of Demir-Hissar.

These Albanians were seen doing the deed of violence by the military post on the bridge over the Struma. The soldiers did not disturb themselves.

The following assassinations and murders were committed on the 13th April, 1905, alone, at *Uskub* and its immediate neighbourhood :

Some Turks murdered Stilian Mirtcheff, who received twenty-three stabs.

Nicolas Jancoff, of the village of *Mircoutzi*, was killed.

Avram Slavcoff and Anghel Slavcoff were assassinated.

At midday, a child of five and a septuagenarian were assassinated in the village of *Liubantzi* by two Albanians, Chaban and Feizo.

Some Turks assassinated the villager Stefco Otzedaroff, of the village of *Rashtak*. The authorities arrested three friends of the victim, whom they tortured and imprisoned.

On the 1st May, 1905, some Turks assassinated, in the village of *Palicura*, a certain Inozerooff.

Kolé Shishcoff, of the village of *Ekshi-Su*, was killed on the 3rd May in his vineyard by the rural policeman of Spantzi. The assassin was released after three days' imprisonment.

A young man of twenty, Gheorghi, son of the druggist Ivan Akhtaraa, was killed in the village of *Mitnitsa* by two Turks, who are known to the police. The guilty persons were not prosecuted ; it was the inconsolable father whom the police dragged about.

Christo Rizoff, thirty years old, and Ito Itzoff, thirteen, were murdered on the 9th May, 1905, near the village of *Negotino*, Kavadartzi. The murderers were Ali Fishigoff and three other Turks. The Government, although informed, did nothing to lay hands on the assassins, and

allowed Ali Fishigoff to walk about freely in the village and terrorise his Christian neighbours.

On the 10th May a Turk of the village of *Drenovo*, reputed for his cruelty, Selim Veissel, killed the Christians Pilate Christoff, Thodore Guentcheff, Kolé Tosheff, and the little girl Marie Ivanova, ten years old. Their only fault was that they happened to be on the assassin's road. Other Christians would also have been killed if the villagers had not succeeded in seizing Selim and delivering him to the authorities of Kafadar, who released him, after a short imprisonment, on the pretext that he was drunk when he committed these crimes.

On the 10th May Turks killed, in a vineyard of *Negotino*, the young Christo Rizoff and Ighno Natzeff, aged eleven.

The next day some Turks murdered, in the village of *Drenovo*, Milan Christoff, Thodore Kantcheff, Nicolas Pashoff, and the young Maria Ivanova, aged twelve.

On the 21st May some Turks killed the miller of the village of *Bansco*, Mito Dabiliali.

On the 2nd July the Bulgarians Gherassim Simoff and Bojan Damianoff, natives of the village of *Kladnik*, caza of Kitchevo, were murdered at dusk by some Turks while returning home. The murderers were recognised by relatives of the victims, who ran to their aid. The police, informed of what had happened, took no measures to find the guilty persons.

On the 22nd July the Turk Ismail Sam killed, in the middle of the market-place of *Dibré*, the kodjabashi Anastas, of the village of Lazaropolé. The military authorities refused to arrest the assassin.

On the 24th July the Turk Muhtar Noblé assassinated the Bulgarian baker Naoum Tsontsoff, of *Dibré*. Again the military authorities refused to have the assassin arrested.

On the 9th August the vicar of the Bulgarian metropolitan of Gostivar passed at some distance from the village of *Tchailé*. The Turkish beys, who were in the fields some forty yards away, hunting, fired at him thrice, to amuse



themselves. The vicar was hit in the shoulder, but happily his wound was not serious.

On the 12th September, 1905, Emin Aga, of the village of Prossotchani, having met on his road the Bulgarian villager Risté Stefanoff, of *Belichishta*, fired twice at him, but missed. A little farther on he wounded the villager Jakim Nardoff, and, to wind up his day, killed two villagers of Belchishta, Jordan Janeff and Stephan Risteff. The assassin walked about freely afterwards, without any one thinking of arresting him.

On the 14th January, 1906, the Turkish rural policeman of the village of Tzarvitcha, caza of Demir-Hissar, perceiving the Bulgarian Ilia Andonoff, of the village of Krushevo, occupied in cutting wood, rushed on him and struck him violently with a hatchet. The unfortunate man died three days afterwards.

In the beginning of February the Albanian Nebi, a shepherd in the service of Yacub Kehaya, having seen the Bulgarian Doné Traikoff, of the village of *Dragomirtsi*, caza of Kukush, ploughing a field, fired and stretched him dead on the spot. This was for amusement's sake, for the Albanian did not know his victim in the least; he only knew it was a Bulgarian. The authorities did not look for the assassin.

On the 18th February two Albanians, who were passing the mill of Stotza Mitreff, of the village of *Jensko*, also caza of Kukush, perceiving Mitreff as he was coming out of his mill, which was situated near the village, fired twice at him; the unfortunate man fell dead. The police took no measures to arrest the assassins, who are nevertheless well known.

On the 6th March Dimo Kolioff, of the village of *Kretzovo*, same caza, was going, in the company of his brother Gotzé, to his field, which lies at ten minutes' walk from the village. As they arrived, two Albanian shepherds fired on them. Dimo Kolioff fell mortally wounded; his brother Gotzé

went to inform the soldiers at the nearest post of what had happened. The soldiers refused to pursue the assassins. The wounded man died while being carried back to the village.

In the first half of March the Turk Turuk Ismail, rural policeman in the caza of Enidjé-Vardar, fired several times on the workmen of Anton Duntcheff, village of *Tushilevo*; the same day, meeting the Bulgarian merchant Andon Tantchukoff, of *Gumendjé*, he tried to shoot him. But the latter, who was on horseback, dismounted quickly and managed to hide himself. On the complaint of the persons attacked, Turuk Ismail was arrested. He was released five days later.

Athanas Angheloff Tudeff, of the village of *Startchishta*, caza of Nevrocop, was found murdered not far from this village, on the 25th March. It has been ascertained since that the assassins were Turks. No prosecution of them was attempted.

The Bulgarian Naoumtché Pirizoff, of the village of *Barovo*, caza of Tikvesh, was beheaded on the 21st March by Turks of the village of Drianovo. The feet of the unfortunate man had been cut off before his death; they were found in the river Tzerna.

On the 25th March Kotzé Delioff, of the village of *Dolno-Dissan*, caza of Tikvesh, was shot by Turks, while going to the fields.

The following were killed by Turks: on the 20th March, G. Todoroff of the village of *Galishta*; on the 27th of the same month, Manol Petrovski, of the village of *Doleni*; on the 6th April, M. Anastassoff and the woman Anovska, of *Galishta*; on the 20th April, Christo Popoff, of *Debrolishta*.

The Bulgarian notable Pando Kozareff of *Okhrida* was assassinated by the Turk Selim Rizak, of Struga, under the eyes of the owners of two farms adjoining the place of the murder. Some years ago a brother of Pando Kozareff was assassinated by the same Selim Rizak. The police did not proceed to arrest Selim.

Zafir Batchevaroff, of the village of *Zagortzi*, caza of

Radovish, and Vassil Lazaroff, of the village of *Garvan*, were assassinated on the 23rd March by Turks.

About the same date some Turks hanged Ivan, of the village of *Skorosha*.

Some Turks of the village of *Veliussa* attacked sixty Bulgarians returning from the market of Strumitza.

On the 4th May the Bulgarian Simeon Petzoff, of the village of *Blatetz*, caza of Kotchani, was killed by Turks.

On the 5th May Ilia Stoianoff, of *Hodjof-tchiflik*, caza of Demir-Hissar, was wounded by Albanians.

On the 15th May Tané Deredjieff, of the village of *Matnitza*, was killed by fanatical Turks of his village.

On the 16th May the Bulgarians Stoian and Christo Stonoevi and Savé Traitcheff, of the village of *Pripetchani*, caza of Kotchani, were returning from Vinitza, when the Turk Shimshi Pehlivan and three of his companions fired on them. Stoian was at once killed; the other two managed to escape. It does not appear that the murderers have been prosecuted.

Denko Dimitroff, of *Gorno-Koïnari*, caza of Uskub, was killed on the 21st May, in his house, by the Turk Murad. This miscreant had killed, four months before, the uncle of his latest victim and had not been punished.

On the 23rd May, in the caza of *Strumitza*, a bandit having perceived the shepherd Gheorghii Christoff, twenty-three years old, grazing his flock, fired at him; the bullet pierced the hand of the unfortunate young man.

On the 4th July the Bulgarians Zoko Dimoff, forty years old, and Elio Velkoff, twenty-eight, inhabitants of the village of *Thodorovo*, caza of Kukush, were working in their fields, which lie at half an hour's walk from the village, when several shots were fired at them by three men hidden behind a ridge. Dimoff fell dead on the spot. Velkoff tried to escape, but the assassins fired at him again, and he fell severely wounded. The assassins were Turkish peasants of the neighbouring villages. The authorities did not prosecute them.

On the 6th July the Bulgarian rural policeman of the

village of *Chrystofor* was killed at three miles distance from Monastir by Turks.

On the 7th July Stoian Dimoff, native of the village of Tchenghelovo, caza of Demir-Hissar, was seriously wounded by a rifle-shot.

The kodjabashi of the village of *Gorno-Brodi*, caza of Serres, Liontchoff, and the farmers Christo Tomasoff and Ivan Christoff, were killed on the 8th July, by Turks, while going to Serres.

On the 11th July some Turks killed eight Bulgarians in the village of *Terlis*, caza of Nevrocop, and six in the village of *Starichishta*, same caza.

The Bulgarian notable Dafeta, of the market-town of Mekhomia, was killed on the 23rd July by Turks.

The Turk Suleyman Aivaza, of the village of *Arman*, caza of Petritch, assassinated, on the 15th July, the Bulgarian Mitzé Taneff, without a single word having passed between the two men. Perceiving afterwards the Bulgarian Tano Mihoff, Suleyman fired at him also with his revolver, but without result.

At the end of the month of July Dimo Smuyré, of the village of *Obrosha*, caza of Monastir, and his travelling-companion were killed by Turks.

At the same date, in the caza of Kitchevo, the priest Tzvetan Koïnoff and his father were killed by Turks between the villages of *Slatina* and *Manastirtza*.

Ducadin Avramoff, of the village of *Sumitsa*, was also killed by Turks at the end of July.

During the month of July also, in the caza of Perlepé, the Bulgarian Vantcho, of *Krushevo*, was killed by Turks near the mill of Perlepé.

The rural policeman Malé, of Perlepé, was also killed by Turks.

On the 1st August the kodjabashi of the village of *Staritcheni*, Stavré Athanassoff, was killed by fanatical Turks at the place called Golesheva, between Khrinishta and Staritcheni. The assassins were seen at work by the post of soldiers which is at hand, but were not pursued.

On the same day two Vlach shepherds of the village of *Ielegojé* were also killed by Turkish fanatics.

## V. OUTRAGES ON WOMEN

On the 27th February, 1905, the muliazim of the village of *Nivitchani*, caza of Kotchani, Omer Effendi, entered while drunk the house of the peasant Efrem and violated his daughter Mita, twenty years old. When he left he fired several revolver shots, and accused the brothers of the young girl of having fired on him.

On the 5th May, 1905, some soldiers violated the women Chrisso Stantcheva and Irina Thodorova, of the village of *Koevo*, caza of Kirk-Klissé.

The soldier Ibrahim, of the detachment quartered in the village of *Volak*, caza of Doiran, on the 8th May, 1905, dragged into a hay-loft a young Bulgarian girl, eleven to twelve years old, and rather weak-minded, Magdalena Demerdji-Stoianova, and there violated her. The result of complaints made was the removal of this soldier from the village of Volak to the village of Startchishta, caza of Nevrocop.

On the 12th June, 1905, the *zaptié*, Zakir, of Kumanovo, who accompanied the tax-collector Mulla Hassan to the village of *Sassa*, caza of Kotchani, passed the night with the collector in the house of the peasant Gheorghi Angheloff, where he succeeded in violating the daughter of the peasant.

The woman Ilinka Simeonova, of the village of *Mussomitza*, caza of Nevrocop, while going to the market on the 8th July, was attacked by a soldier who tried to violate her. She vigorously defended herself until some peasants passing that way came to her aid. She was greatly bruised, and her face and hands were covered with blood. The guilty man was not punished.

The Turks Halil Pehlivan, Dokus, Kardashli Adem, and Uniz Kamberoff of the village of Hamzabegovo, Halilaga Usuf, Osman Bektchi, and a certain Hassan, of Tzarnilishtë, attacked on the 8th July, 1905, near the village of *Sveti-Nicollé*,

caza of Ishtib, a group of harvesters, and after having bound the men, carried off the women. At two hundred yards from there they violated them all, with the exception of the young girl Sava Goneva, who managed to escape.

The young girl Anika Apostolova, fourteen years old, was carried off by well-known Turks of the village of *Boshnatzi*; she was found murdered two days later; she had been violated. This young girl lived in the village of Teternik.

A detachment of troops who were passing near the village of *Dokuziuk*, caza of Kirk-Klissé, fell in with a young woman named Elenka, whom the soldiers tried to violate. She only managed to escape dishonour thanks to some shepherds who came to her rescue.

A young woman Duké-Ilieva, of the village of *Koevo*, caza of Kirk-Klissé, was carried off on the 2nd February by soldiers and taken to the frontier post of Arabadji-Bair, where she was for several weeks at the mercy of her ravishers. The Government being informed, took no measure to deliver this unhappy woman.

A young girl of Kutchuk-Tyrnovo was carried off, in March, by six soldiers, who hid her no one knows where. Some villagers running up in answer to the cries of the victim were repulsed with drawn sabres. One of them was wounded.

A Turkish soldier of *Dibré* carried off by force, about the end of last February, the young Bulgarian girl Ivanka Blajeva, whom he shut up in a Turkish house. The relatives of the captive and the Bulgarian community of Dibré made an appeal to the authorities, but the latter pretended that they were powerless to discover where the young girl was hidden.

The Turk Isliam Ibrahim, of Uskub, having induced the woman Mitra Petkova to come to his farm at *Braniartsi*, under pretext of buying flour from her, shut her up by force and kept her for four days. In spite of complaint made, the offender was not punished.

Several soldiers encountered, on the 21st July, on the road leading from the village of *Gorno-Brodi* to *Dolno-*

*Brodi*, caza of Serres, four women, two of whom were Greeks, one called Duka Balteva, Bulgarian school-teacher at Kitchevo, and a young Turkish woman. The soldiers laid hands on the Bulgarian teacher and the Turkish woman, and subjected them to the last outrages. The two Greek women had managed to escape with their driver. The next day the two victims were brought to the village of Gorno-Brodi; they succeeded in recognising the offending soldiers. The latter were arrested, only because of the insult to a Turkish woman.

On the 1st September a young Bulgarian woman, pregnant, was going to her field, near Nevrocop, when she was attacked by a soldier and violated, in spite of her desperate resistance. The soldier belonged to the military detachment quartered in the village of *Osinnovo*, and, his name being known, complaint was made against him. He remained unpunished.

On the 2nd September the rural policemen of the village of *Vadrishta*, caza of Enidjé-Vardar, the Albanians Nezif and Djemaïl, carried off by force from her house, in broad daylight, the young girl Elena Krysteva, whom they took no one knows where. Her relatives complained against the authors of the rape, but without result.

## D.—THE ACTION OF THE GREEKS

### I. THE GREAT MASSACRES

ON the 13th November, 1904, towards half-past ten in the evening, a Greek band of from seventy to eighty men, commanded by Ephtimios Caralivanos and Scotidi, entered the Bulgarian village of *Zelenitché*, каза of Florina, and attacked the house of Trifon Goteff, where a marriage was being celebrated, and where a large number of relatives and friends of the young couple were assembled.

Having surrounded the house, the aggressors began to fire on those present, not one of whom was armed; there were thirteen killed and five wounded. Here are the names of the unhappy victims:

#### *Killed*

Stoian Goteff, forty years old.  
His son Grigor, twenty.  
Dossi V. Stoicoff, forty.  
His son Vladimir, thirteen.  
Mikhail D. Putcheff, thirty.  
Lambro Kostoff, twenty-one.  
Arghyr Tzandiloff, forty.  
His daughter, ten.  
Doré V. Ulemadoff, forty-five.  
Hussein Abdul-Kerim, fifty.  
Lazo G. Kostovitchine, twenty.  
Pando Metchkaroff, forty.  
Depa Lazova, fifty.

#### *Wounded*

Ali Bey.  
Gheorghi Dimitroff.  
Lazo Vatzanoff.  
Gheorghi D. Pudjoff.  
Slavé Kostoff.



After this heroic exploit, the band fled, without being pursued by the authorities. It should be noticed that the *mudir* (under-prefect) of Nevestka, which is half an hour's distance from Zelenitché, and where two hundred and fifty regular soldiers are quartered, was immediately informed of the outrage ; but he did not see it his duty to put himself about, nor even to send a soldier or a gendarme to the spot.

The vali of Monastir declared to the consuls that the affair of Zelenitché had come about in consequence of a quarrel between Bulgarians, and that there had been no aggression on the part of the Greeks. This version might have obtained credence if the consuls of Austria-Hungary and of Russia had not gone to the spot. The inquiry of the consuls established that this abominable aggression was committed by a Greek band of from seventy to eighty men. All the walls of the rooms in which the victims had been assembled showed marks of bullets, except the wall on the side of the door, which proves that the firing came from the threshold.

MM. Prohasca and Kal declared that the authorities took no pains to prevent this sad affair, and, what is worse, did nothing to pursue and arrest the aggressors. The police agent and two gendarmes who were at Zelenitché only went to the spot an hour after the outrage, and the soldiers of Nevestka, half an hour's walk from Zelenitché, arrived next day at midday. The *mudir*, who was also at Nevestka, did not stir till the evening of the next day, and the *caïmacan* of Florina two days after. Five days after the outrage the authorities had taken no measure to pursue and arrest the guilty persons.

The inquiry of the consuls of Austria-Hungary and of Russia established, in addition, that in the Greek band were some Greek sympathisers of the neighbouring villages of Strebeno and Belkamen ; but the authorities made no search or arrests in these villages. There were arrested only four Greeks of Zelenitché, because they had been recognised by the Bulgarians, and the Turk Ali Bey, one of the wounded, because he had been denounced as a friend of the Bulgarians.

On the 17th January, 1905, a band of thirty-two armed men, of whom twenty were Turks and twelve Greeks, invaded the Bulgarian village of *Marvintzi*, caza of Doiran, where they arrested twenty-six notables of the village and looted several houses. The chief of the band violated a young bride called Velika Christova.

When leaving Marvintzi, the band carried off the twenty-six notables; and at a quarter of an hour's walk from the village fired several volleys at them, leaving on the ground ten killed and five severely wounded, of whom three died the same day. The other eleven villagers managed to escape.

An hour after the departure of the band, which had taken the road for the Turkish village of Kazandali, thirty soldiers arrived at Marvintzi; but, instead of pursuing the band, they only verified the fact of the outrage and departed.

The next day the caimacan of Doiran, accompanied by a lieutenant and a detachment of soldiers, went to Marvintzi. A great number of men and women wished to go to Salonica to tell the authorities of the affair; the lieutenant prevented them from going.

The inhabitants of Marvintzi recognised in the band Milé Chana, of Bogdantzi, and Anton Dimtcheff, of Gartchishta, two adherents of the Greeks, who had belonged to the Greek band of seven men which had operated two months before at *Bogdantzi*; these two men, being then arrested, had been released by the authorities of Ghevgheli.

On the 6th April, 1905, at nightfall, a Greek band of two hundred and three men surrounded the Bulgarian village of *Zagoritchani*. Having heard sounds of a trumpet, the inhabitants of the village believed it was Ottoman troops arriving. The next day, being the feast of the Annunciation, early in the morning, at the moment when they were going to the church, they were surprised by shots fired from all sides. All in the street and about the church were massacred, after which the band attacked the remainder of the inhabitants in their houses, of which they burned several and destroyed others with dynamite bombs. The number

killed was sixty, among whom were women and children. The wounded numbered seven. Fifteen houses and twenty-eight huts and granaries were burned or destroyed.

During two long hours this band did its monstrous work, putting the village to fire and sword, and only retired at the news of the approach of a detachment of Ottoman soldiers commanded by Sub-Lieutenant Nazir Bey. It is asserted positively that the band was headed by three officers and fifteen soldiers of the Greek army.

The consuls of Austria-Hungary and of Russia, as well as the officers of the Italian section, went to Zagoritchani and verified the account of the horrors committed by the band. In the streets, round about the church, many corpses were mutilated ; skulls smashed, eyes torn out, hands and limbs cut off. Women had their hands cut off ; children of five years were disembowelled. One of the priests of the village, an old man of seventy, was murdered : his body was covered with wounds. An entire family was killed by bombs thrown into the house ; the father, mother, and their children were horribly mutilated by the splinters of the bombs. One of their little girls who tried to escape by the door was ripped up by bayonets.

Appalled by the horrible fate of their co-religionists of Zagoritchani, the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages abandoned their homes, and took refuge in the fields and woods. Thus, when the consuls went to Zagoritchani they did not find a living soul in the village of Bobishta.

That the Greek band which attacked Zagoritchani could not commit the outrage without the complicity of the Ottoman authorities, the following circumstances sufficiently prove :

1st. It is inconceivable that a band of more than two hundred men could have organised itself and gone to Zagoritchani without being noticed by the agents of the authorities, when numerous detachments of gendarmes and troops continually patrol the roads and villages, and know how to discover the hiding-place of the smallest Bulgarian bands reported to be in this or that locality.

2nd. Some days before the outrage, a detachment of

troops arrived at Zagoritchani to make house to house searches; the chief, on entering the village, commanded the trumpets to sound. At this sound the panic-stricken inhabitants began to flee. The Ottoman officer having stopped them and asked why they were running away, they replied that they had feared that the sound of the trumpet meant the arrival of a Greek band. The officer quieted them by saying that only the *asker* (the troops) could use the trumpet. Nevertheless, some days after, the Greek band which surrounded the village also used a trumpet; and the inhabitants did not disturb themselves, believing it was more troops arriving! Coincidence or not, the fact deserves to be noted.

3rd. On the 14th March some peasants of Zelenitché had transmitted a request to one of the Italian officers, asking him for protection against the Greek party of Belkamen and Eleovo, caza of Kastoria, who, at the instigation of their spiritual chiefs, were projecting an attack on their village. The Italian officer called the attention of the *caïmacan* (under-prefect) twice to the projects of the Greeks, and the doings of a Greek engineer, in the service of the state, at Florina, who is thought to be a chief of Greek bands. In spite of this warning, the *caïmacan* took no measures of protection, nor even of precaution: he did not have the movements of the Greek bands watched, and they, instead of Zelenitché, attacked Zagoritchani.

The facts which we have just set forth are significant enough, and the conclusion which is forced upon us is that the local authorities, and, in particular, the *caïmacans* of Florina and Kastoria, as well as the Greek bishops of those two towns, are positively responsible for what happened at Zagoritchani.

A Greek band of twenty-three men, commanded by the chief Karavigis, took up its quarters, on the 15th July, in the Turkish village of Gorno-Kleshtino, whose inhabitants, who are redoubtable bandits, furnished the Greeks with provisions for a large payment, not without the assent of the under-prefect of Florina, whose recognised satellites they are.

The inhabitants of the neighbouring Exarchist villages, fearing an attack, applied to the authorities for protection. The protection was not given, the band was not molested, but the villagers stood on their guard.

On the 10th August this band joined the band of the Greek captain Varda, in the Turkish village of Kishava, from which place, on the morning of the 12th August, the Greek bandits, reinforced by a party of twenty Turks, all disguised as soldiers, marched unmolested to the Exarchist village of *Kladorabi*, which had the advantage of not being guarded, and to which, two or three days before, some workmen had just returned from America, presumably bringing with them much money.

On arriving in the village, the bandits summoned the inhabitants, who, seeing soldiers, hurried to hide the few arms they possessed, and answered the summons without distrust. They were securely bound, after which the bandits began to maltreat them with the most barbarous cruelty. After having tortured them to punish them for renouncing the Patriarchate and to make them give up all their money, the Greek and Turkish Armatoles mutilated and then killed gradually with their daggers and bayonets seventeen notables and severely wounded another. Then they plundered some houses, satisfied their passions on some women, and departed on the horses of the villagers as unmolested as they had come, certain of impunity.

The authorities, immediately informed, waited till the bandits had found shelter before sending a commission to the spot, which regretted that the massacre had not been greater (the under-prefect of Florina, for instance, seeing the wounded, cried out, "These should have been finished too!"). As for pursuing the guilty, the Turkish Government did not think of it. Up till now, no steps have been taken.

Here are the names and ages of the villagers who were put to death :

Temelco Popoff, fifty.  
Chrysté Petreff, forty-five.  
His son Christo, twenty-five.

Vassil Novatcheff, seventy.  
Stoitché Tomeff, seventy-five.  
His son Ilu, fifty.  
His second son Gheorghi, twenty-five.  
Ivan Steffoff, sixty-five.  
Pavel Christoff, forty-five.  
Spas Steffoff, sixty-five.  
Trendo Risteff, forty-two.  
Lazare Gheorghieff, forty-eight.  
Ivan Dimoff, fifty-two.  
His son Petco, twenty-four.  
Thodore Dimoff, forty.  
Chrysté Koleff, sixty.  
Tassé Stoianoff, thirty-eight.

The complicity of the high Turkish functionaries in this massacre is manifest. How explain otherwise the refusal of the under-prefect of Florina to pursue these bandits when the villagers informed him of their being at Kleshtino?

How otherwise could the bandits get old Turkish uniforms?

How is it that Turks helped the Armatoles in the massacre?

How did the band manage to pass the numerous military posts?

On the 6th October, 1905, a Greek band, numbering about eighty men, divided itself into two detachments of about equal strength, and attacked simultaneously the Bulgarian villages of *Puturos*, *caza* of *Perlepé*, and *Tzarnitchani*, *caza* of *Monastir*.

The bandits set fire to fourteen houses at *Puturos*, out of the total of seventeen in the village; they shot the Bulgarians *Stoian Murjeff*, *Stoian Domazet*, and the woman *Kalia Traitcheva*. *Soklé Anastoff* was wounded. But the most monstrous act committed by these bandits was the horrible murder of the two children of *Kitan Nicoloff*, aged seven and nine. The two poor little things, torn from their mother's arms, were thrown into the flames before her eyes and burned alive.

At *Tsarnitchani*, ten houses were burned, but there were no human victims. A farm belonging to a Turk was also set on fire. All the grain as well as the cattle were burned.

The Italian officers Ciconini and Luzzi and the English consul visited the burned villages and verified these facts.

On the 11th November, 1905, about nine o'clock in the evening, a Greek band of from eighty to a hundred men entered the village of *Nevoliani*, and after having surrounded the house of Gheorghi Ianeff, where a party of fifty relatives and friends were assembled on the occasion of a marriage, began to fire shots through the doors and windows. Then, seeing that the wedding party did not come out, the bandits set fire to the house. A certain number of guests and the newly married couple managed to escape by a little door of the inner court, and took refuge in the neighbouring houses. Others tried to escape by the other exits of the house ; they were killed or wounded. Here are their names :

Tweve killed :

Gheorghi Ianeff, owner of the burned house.

Naoum and Lazo Ianeff, brothers of the preceding.

Vané Mileff and his son Stottcho, fourteen years old.

Petré Slavoff, Naoum Ivanoff, Kolé Tarpin, Vané Dimoff, Vassil Tipunoff, Mitra Delu Tileva, and the gipsy Kupa, a tambourine-player.

Eight wounded, women and little girls :

Elena Ivanova, of Monastir, on a visit to Nevoliani.

Elena Koleva, of the village of Nevoliani.

Lenka Tchomina, nine years old, of Nevoliani.

Elena Tasseva, ten, of Nevoliani.

Panda Gheorghieva, twelve, of Nevoliani.

Tassa Kostova, eighteen, of Nevoliani.

Iana Kostova, of Nevoliani.

Mitra Ivanova, of Nevoliani.

Among the victims, Gheorghi Ianeff and the girl Mitra Delu Tileva were found burned to cinders under the ruins ;

it is supposed that they must have been killed in the house before it was burned, or that being severely wounded they could not escape.

The inhabitants of the village are divided into Exarchists and Patriarchists : when the bodies of the victims were taken up, the Greek Church claimed four, as well as what remained of the young girl who was burned. It is maintained that these five victims were Patriarchists, and that at the moment of the massacre the unfortunates swore that they were Greeks ; but the bandits, believing it was a trick, slew them without pity. These ferocious assassins tore the jewels from the hair and fingers of the women. They also stripped the corpses of their shoes and belongings.

The cartridges found round the burned house prove that the bandits were armed with Mauser and Gras rifles. The band was composed of Greeks and some Turks, these latter belonging to the village of Nevoliani itself, where there are ninety Mussulman houses. The band stayed for more than three hours in the village, and, having accomplished its execrable work, retired to the forests of the neighbourhood. It is believed that it was commanded by the captains Vardas and Pavlos, who were operating in the district of Florina. At twenty minutes' walk from Nevoliani are quartered two battalions of infantry and two squadrons of cavalry, who did not disturb themselves either to help the unhappy inhabitants or to pursue the brigands. The yusbashi, Mustapha Effendi, who went to the spot next day, refused to summon the gendarmes to take care of the corpses until the authorities should arrive. He replied to the supplications of the peasants, " Let the dogs eat them ! "

All these above facts have been verified on the spot by the consuls of Austria-Hungary and of Italy at Monastir, and by Captain Gastoldi, inspector of gendarmerie at Florina, in presence of the commercial agent of Bulgaria at Monastir, accompanied by his dragoman.

A group of men, women, and children of the villages of *Tarsié* and of *Turia*, caza of Florina, and of the village of *Konomladi*, caza of Kastoria, going to the market of



Florina, fell into an ambushade organised by a Greek band on the 19th April, 1905, between the villages of Tarsié and Kalugheretz. The bandits laid hands on the travellers. On the spot they beheaded, in presence of their wives, who bravely defended them, the Bulgarians Lazo Taneff, Gheorghi Gheloff, and Manol Ristoff. On the next day were found, also beheaded, near a well not far from the village of Nered, the eleven other Bulgarians; they were frightfully mutilated.

Two united Greek bands attacked, on the 29th July, 1906, the Bulgarian village of *Kaliani*, caza of Morihovo, which had not obeyed an order to renounce the Exarchate. Twelve Bulgarians were killed with hatchets; an old man was severely wounded. Twenty-one houses and fourteen granaries were burned.

On Sunday, the 9th September, 1906, at seven o'clock in the evening, a Greek band, helped by bashi-bazouks and soldiers, attacked the Bulgarian village of *Smilevo*, eighteen miles from Monastir. The peasants were surprised without any means of defence, and those of them who could not escape were massacred without pity.

Eleven men and two women were killed :

Ognen Traïkoff, thirty-three, married three months before, shot.

Damian Andréeff, sixty years old, shot.

Damian Nicoloff, forty-five, shot and stabbed with knives; the left leg cut in bits.

Iolé Spassoff, sixty, killed with a hatchet; the right arm cut off.

Kolé Stoïanoff, fifty-two, shot, and stabbed with the bayonet.

Gheorghi Stephanoff, thirty-nine, shot and bayoneted.

Damé Pétrouff, thirty-three, shot; cousin of Damian Grueff, the well-known revolutionary.

Pavlé Ghioré, or Gheorghieff, twenty-seven, shot.

Kotcho Ivanoff, nineteen, shot and knifed.

Pandé Deloff, thirteen, shot and knifed.

Tzveta Sekulova, a woman of eighty; Sultana Christeva, daughter of the preceding, fifty. These two women were cut in pieces and then burned in their houses, which had been pillaged.

Damé Ilieff was in the shop of a grocer, where he was burned.

A woman and a young man were wounded, and died at Monastir. These were the woman Tzveta Koleva Gheorghieva and the young man Kuzo Ilieff.

Two women and an old man were severely wounded: Ilinka Kotchova, twenty years old, wounded with knives; Neda Spassova, severely wounded in the arm by the butt end of a rifle and a shot; and Doné Alexoff, sixty-five, severely wounded by rifle-shots, and on the head in several places with knives.

Several houses were set on fire, and a great part of the village consumed by flames. The first houses burned were those of the two priests, of the schoolmaster and mistress, which the bandits sought out at the first. The priests only escaped death by hiding in the chimneys of their houses, while the bandits conscientiously plundered the latter; as for the schoolmistress, who only arrived at the village the night before the attack, she managed to escape disguised as a peasant-woman.

The following houses were looted before being burned:

The house of the priest Pavlé Athanassoff.

That of the priest Doné Pope Dimitroff.

Of Doné Alexoff.

Of Misho Pope Ivanoff.

Of Tzvetko Petroff, called Higumène.

Of Doné Manaskoff Volkan.

Of Tolé Doneff.

Of André Athanassoff, inhabited by Philé Kuzmanoff.

The shop of Petré Ivanoff Dascala, rented by Gheorghi Sekuloff, with the merchandise it contained. It was in this shop that Damé Ilieff was, and there met his death.

Nearly all the other houses were more or less damaged by the hail of bullets.

The band remained in the village five hours without being disturbed.

The following facts demonstrate the participation of the Turks in the massacre, and the connivance of the detachments of troops who are charged with guarding the neighbourhood :

1st. On the night before the massacre, at seven o'clock in the evening, a detachment of thirty soldiers passed near Smilevo, making its way towards the convent of Saint Peter, and stopped at a place called *Javoretz*, which was often visited by the Greek bands. The detachment spent the night there ; how occupied is not known. The next day the same detachment went to Smilevo at ten o'clock in the morning, and departed three hours before the attack.

2nd. Two *zaptiés*—the Greek Nicolas, of Yeni-Mahlé, and the Turk Mahmud—were at Smilevo ; they left it a quarter of an hour before the attack.

3rd. The detachment of troops quartered at Gopesh, the county town, at some minutes from Smilevo, made rounds of this village every day. Three days before the massacre the rounds were not made.

4th. An inhabitant of Smilevo, André Antonoff, managed to escape the first shots and get to Gopesh. He declared that he could hear the firing in that town all the time it continued. The troops at Gopesh must also have heard. Nevertheless, they did not move.

5th. A peasant, brother of one of the victims, testified that having managed to hide in the chimney, he clearly recognised voices which were perfectly known to him of Turks of *Obednik*, who were killing his brother.

6th. A woman declared also to the examining magistrate, and to the consuls who had gone to make an inquiry, that some Turks, led by an aga of Obednik, Mefail Aga Ismarloff, entered her house and called upon her to say where her money was, laying her on the ground and threatening her with their drawn knives. She gave them £T6.

7th. Some villagers of Gopesh confided to the Italian officer of gendarmerie that the chiefs of the local detachment

returned home very late on the evening of the massacre, contrary to their usual custom, and that about six o'clock they had been seen one after the other in a state of excitement going towards Smilevo. Several peasants declared that they had seen such-and-such a soldier of the detachment furtively making for Smilevo some hours before the massacre.

A Greek band, two hundred men strong, attacked the village of *Givovo*, vilayet of Monastir, in the evening of the 7th October, 1906. Twenty-five men of this band went directly to the house of the mayor, Risté Petkoff. The mayor at that moment was at home in the company of some Bulgarian notables, occupied in counting the sums collected for the village tithe. The bandits at once seized this money, about £T25, robbed the mayor, and then took all the persons present outside. On arriving in front of the house they slew all the captives with hatchets and set fire to the building. Meanwhile the rest of the band, divided into several groups, plundered the other houses, stealing money, the jewellery of the women, and all valuables. Then they killed pitilessly everybody they encountered. The huts and houses were set on fire, and then the brigands went to a little distance from the village to contemplate their work.

The persons killed numbered eighteen. The rural policemen, Athanas Athanassoff and Risté Petkoff, disappeared; Jovan Baliarkoff was severely wounded; thirty houses, huts, and barns were burned. The detachment of soldiers in garrison at the village of Vitolishta, situated at a short distance, came to the village of Givovo. On the road it encountered the Greek band, fired several shots, and allowed it to get away. On arriving at the village, the soldiers contented themselves with observing the carnage and the disaster.

## II. OTHER EXPLOITS OF THE GREEK BANDS

On the 16th March, 1905, the house of the Bulgarian priest Ivan Mitoff, situated in the village of *Popovo*, caza of Doiran, was destroyed from top to bottom with dynamite by a Greek band. As this outrage had brought many people

into the street, the bandits, before retiring, fired at random on the population. A number of Bulgarians were wounded, and a Mussulman killed. The band departed at last without being molested; the military authorities only gave signs of life after its departure—by an inquiry.

In the early part of May a Greek band, numbering seventy brigands, approached the village of *Laghen*, caza of Florina, and fired on the Bulgarian peasants, men, women, and children, whom it encountered in the near vicinity of the village. They thus killed Christo Bojinoff, Ivan Denoff, Trinko Christoff (aged twelve), Catherina Petkova (eight years old); Tanas Mitreff (aged thirteen), and Mitra Christova, daughter of Bojinoff, were wounded. After committing these murders, the band retired without being molested by anybody.

On the 19th May a strong Greek band entered in broad daylight the village of *Amlar-Keuy*, caza of Salonica, where they looked for the Bulgarian priest. As the latter was not in the village, the bandits retired, after having severely wounded a little shepherd-lad, whom they left for dead.

A certain number of peasants of the caza of Kastoria departed in the spring of the year for Greece. They went, as is the custom of the people of their district, to hire themselves out for summer field-labour. They travelled in small groups of from ten to fifteen persons. After their departure, and for long weeks, none of them were heard of in their village. Very anxious, the families engaged couriers (*kiradji*) to learn their fate. The couriers reported that not one of the peasants inquired for had arrived in Greece. The families implored the authorities to institute an inquiry. This inquiry brought about the discovery of sixty-three corpses hidden in the little caves which lie alongside the road from Satchishta to Kojani. In a single one of those caves were found seventeen corpses, and thirteen in another. In spite of the state of decomposition of the bodies, the identity of some of the victims has been established. These are :

Mitré Palasheff, of Ighiblé, caza of Kastoria.

Nasso Doreff                   "                   "                   "

Gamo Miteff                   "                   "                   "

Mitré Zessoff, of Jelin                   "                   "

Pando Mitreff                   "                   "                   "

Nasso Palasheff, the elder, of Breshtani, caza of Kastoria.

Dine Nassoff, the younger                   "                   "                   "

Christo Dimitroff                   "                   "                   "

Petré Foteff.                   "                   "                   "

Nicolas Iskamboff, of Psora                   "                   "

The Turkish authorities have tried hard to hide this sinister discovery; the truth, however, was soon known. The Italian colonel of gendarmerie and the English major, chief of the school of gendarmerie at Salonica, have been able to verify the facts themselves.

A Greek band killed the Exarchist Anghel Zaharieff, of the village of Drenovo, caza of Serres, on the 7th June, near Sarmussakli.

A Greek band of thirty-five persons captured on the 23rd June, in the mountain of *Vitch*, six Exarchist Bulgarians—Pando Sterioff, Ivan Christoff, Gheorghii Christoff, and Vassil Ivanoff, of the village of Blatza, and Stepho and Lido Sideroff, of Prekopana. The prisoners were all bound, after which the bandits began to kill them, putting out their eyes first, and smashing their skulls afterwards. Two of the prisoners managed to escape: Gheorghii Christoff, wounded, and Vassil Ivanoff.

On the 8th July a Greek band of seventy persons attacked the Exarchist village of *Brenik*, Morihovo district, where they massacred thirty peaceable villagers and burned a good number of the houses. The complicity of the authorities of Perlepé encouraged the bandits.

The Bulgarian shepherd Kolé Kolishanoff, of the village of *Mokreni*, caza of Kastoria, aged sixty, was murdered during the month of July by a Greek band in the mountains of Nevesca.

Satzo Ketcheff, Bulgarian schoolmaster of the village of *Teovo*, caza of Vodena, had gone to the fields to work. At a certain moment he left his companions, and went off to some distance, when suddenly some Greek *comitadjis* rose from the ground, rushed on him, and killed him with daggers. On retiring, the Greeks left on the corpse of their victim a bit of paper on which they had written the following: "You will all be killed in the same way if you do not become Patriarchists." This letter was transmitted to the Russian officer at Vodena.

The Bulgarian Igo Bakaloff, notable of the village of *Kriva*, of the caza of Enidjé-Vardar, had received three threatening letters from the ecclesiastical authorities to induce him to recognise the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate, and to bring over his comrades with him. Igo Bakaloff took no notice of these letters. On the 9th August, as he was going to the village of Ramna, he was attacked by the Greek band which infested the neighbourhood, and left dead on the ground. The bandits rifled their victim.

A Greek band, a hundred strong, invaded, on the 14th August, 1905, the village of *Beshishta*, caza of Morihovo, vilayet of Monastir, and literally sacked it. A great number of Bulgarians were maltreated and wounded, girls and women were violated before their relations' eyes. The band, on leaving, took with it the Bulgarians Velthé, Manio, Mirco, Tolé, Risté, and Milé. All were murdered two hours later. The police, when informed, did not pursue the band.

On the 18th August, 1905, a Greek band, numbering sixty-four persons, surrounded the village of *Skotchivir*, already attacked a few days before by the same band, and captured ten peasants whom they took into the mountains. On the evening of the same day, the band released five of its captives, and kept Ivan Toleff, Gheorghi Athanas, Tolé Ivanoff, and Stoïtche Sekuleff. The released men had been ordered by the chief of the band to inform the villagers that the five hostages would not be set at liberty until the entire village had submitted to the Greek bishop.

On the 31st August of the same year, at one hour's journey from Serres, a Greek band, having encountered Gheorghi Batchevarov, a young Bulgarian of eighteen, of the village of *Lakos*, caza of Serres, murdered him.

The Bulgarian village of *Slivnitsa*, caza of Monastir, was surrounded, on the 5th September, 1905, by a Greek band of from sixty to sixty-five men. The young men of this village had been able to fly before the village was completely surrounded; the other peasants were collected in the square, and during the night were maltreated by the men of the band. In the morning, the chief told them that the village would be given over to fire and sword if all the inhabitants did not recognise the Greek Patriarchate. The band took away with it, as hostages, Stofan Serbinoff and Kitan Velkof.

On the 7th September a Greek band entered by night the village of *Mokreni*, and captured fifteen notables, whom they took with them.

On the 9th September a Greek band, sixty men strong, which was infesting the district of Jelovo, watched between the villages of *Besvina* and *Bukovik* for the Bulgarian priest Christé, who every Saturday went to officiate at Bukovik. The Bulgarian band of Kirchakoff, having learned what was forward, went to the succour of the priest Christé, and a fight ensued. But the troops in garrison at the village of Patelé arriving on the spot, the bands beat a retreat. At the same moment the inhabitants of the villages of Besvina and Bukovik, terrified by the fighting between the bands, fled to the forest. The officers commanding the Turkish troops stopped the fugitives and persuaded them to return to their villages, where they would protect them. The inhabitants consented to return home, but at daybreak, the Turkish troops having departed, the Greek band entered the village of Besvina and plundered the house of Naoum Koleff, the shops of Sterio Toleff and Tolé Petreff, and then the Greeks burned the houses of the priest Christé and of his brother, those of Stefo Lazoff, of Costa Fileff, and of the priest Mitré Christoff. Cattle and property



all were lost. Before retiring the band entered the church of Besvina and burned all the sacred books and the sacerdotal vestments.

On the 10th September a Greek band entered by night the village of *Orehovo*, каза of Monastir, and carried off with it the Bulgarian Gheorghi Trajanoff, threatening to kill him if the village did not accept the jurisdiction of the Œcumenical Patriarchate. This band, before leaving, maltreated a great many Bulgarian peasants. After leaving the village of *Orehovo* the band laid hands on the cook of the convent of *Bukovo*, named Tassé. The corpses of the two unhappy hostages were found in the forest near the village of Gradeshnitza. On the 14th September the same band entered again the village of *Orehovo* and laid hands on three villagers. The Ottoman troops did not come on the scene in spite of the complaints made by the inhabitants.

Finally, on the 15th September, this same band severely wounded Goshi Simeonoff, of the village of *Brusnik*.

A Greek band, one hundred and fifty strong, went in the morning of the 24th September to the Bulgarian village of *Gherman*, каза of Monastir, nahié of Prespa. The inhabitants, who saw the band coming, fled before it entered the village. The band, free to do what it liked, systematically pillaged all the houses and secured an enormous booty, which it loaded on fifty-five horses, also taken from the inhabitants. It retired to the Greek villages of *Pissodu* and *Ghelevo*, taking with it several women. The unfortunate women were only released twenty-four hours later; one of them, a widow named Anghelina Dineva, did not return.

A Greek band, formed in the neighbourhood of *Poroi* by a pretended butter merchant, Barba Gheorghi, committed in the month of September 1905 a great many crimes and outrages of different kinds.

Encountering between *Poroi* and *Petritch* an old Bulgarian of ninety and his nephew, eighteen years old, the bandits rushed on the poor wretches, and after half killing them with blows, finished them with yataghans.

A great many Bulgarian woodmen were murdered in the forests of *Petritch* and several women violated by these bandits.

On the 27th September, 1905, a Greek band laid hands, near the village of *Cadino*, on the Bulgarian Dionis Koleff and his servant, and after having bound and tortured them with refinements of cruelty, killed them. The corpses, frightfully mutilated, were found next day.

The same day another Greek band carried off from the village of *Gorno-Kapanovo*, *caza* of *Caraferia*, five Bulgarian notables.

On the 30th September a Greek band burst into the village of *Armensko*, *caza* of *Florina*. Shots were fired from all sides. The inhabitants fled in indescribable panic. The band then re-formed and went straight to the Bulgarian church and, having entered it, literally sacked it ; everything was destroyed and the bandits laid hands on all valuable objects. On leaving, the band carried off to the mountains the Bulgarian priest and two notables.

The village of *Brusnik*, which lies hardly half an hour's walk from Monastir, was visited, on the 4th October, 1905, by a Greek band. Houses were pillaged and the inhabitants molested.

On the 10th October, at a short distance from Monastir, a Greek band on a raid fell in with the two Bulgarians *Petré*, of the village of *Budimirtzi*, and *Zayakoff*, of the village of *Petrino*, who, having left Monastir less than half an hour before, were returning to their villages, and executed them on the road, just as one shoots down game.

On the 17th October a Greek band went to the village of *Sarmarina* and laid hands on ten Bulgarian peasant notables of this village and took them to *Niaousta*. The same day other Greek bandits, forming a detachment of the same band, went to the villages of *Gorno-Cupanovo*, *Dolno-Cupanovo*, and *Minoshitza*, and obliged twelve Bulgarian peasant notables to accompany them to the village of *Niaousta*. All these notables were assembled in the square of *Niaousta* by

the Greek bandits, and several chiefs of the band ordered them to abandon the jurisdiction of the Exarchate and to recognise the Patriarchate and to declare themselves Greeks at the same time. Five days were given them to make their decision, under threat of extermination along with their fellow-villagers, and of seeing their villages burned.

On the 20th October a Greek band entered, early in the morning, the village of *Mokreni*, caza of Kastoria, and after having conveyed to the notables orders to bring over the village to the Patriarchate, took away as hostages Christo Samadjieff and Vassil Shtereff, the two most influential Bulgarians of the village.

On the same day a Greek band entered the village of *Srebene*, caza of Florina, and took off Vassil Valavitcharoff, whose son is the Bulgarian teacher, as well as four women. On leaving, the band informed the villagers that if in forty-eight hours they did not bring a declaration of the Greek ecclesiastical authorities to the effect that they had placed themselves under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate, the hostages would be killed and the village destroyed.

The same day the mukhtar and the councillors of the village of *Gherman*, nahié of Prespa, left Florina, the first for Monastir, the others for their village. On the road they encountered a Greek band, which captured them. Their names were Koté Koleff, Stoian Gheorghieff, Ilia Mentchoff, and Traïco Raïkoff.

On the 20th October, 1905, a Greek band entered the village of *Aïtos*, caza of Florina. The affrighted villagers fled, but the firing stretched some of them on the ground. The bandits set fire to ten houses, five of which were burnt to ashes, notably the house of the Bulgarian priest. Ilia Diné Mintchoff, a Bulgarian seventy-five years old, presented himself before his burning house and abjured the bandits not to continue their cursed work; he was shot and his corpse thrown into the flames. While the massacre was going on, some peasants who had managed to escape asked the neighbouring military posts to interfere. None of them

moved, and the band was able to retire with its booty, which it loaded on horses stolen from the inhabitants of Aitos.

At an hour's march from Aitos is the village of Nevreska, where are quartered two hundred and fifty soldiers. At Zelenitché, twenty minutes from Aitos, there are fifty soldiers, but these troops refused to move.

On the 28th October a Greek band carried off from the village of *Coloto*, caza of Enidjé-Vardar, Dionis Gheorghieff, Vassil Dineff, and Petar Dineff. On the way the band encountered the Bulgarian Trayo Kozaroff cutting wood, and killed him on the spot.

On the 2nd November, 1905, a very strong Greek band invaded early in the morning the village of *Lubetino*, caza of Florina. The first person they met was the Bulgarian Tzilé Zapeff, eighty years old; they killed him, after maltreating him, although he entreated the brigands to spare him. The other peasants were able to flee in time into the mountains. The village was completely sacked.

On the 3rd November another Greek band killed at *Besvina*, nahié of Prespa, the Bulgarian rural policeman Christo and the Bulgarian peasant Pavlé.

The Bulgarian village of *Olovrade*, caza of Kastoria, had received several threatening letters from a Greek band which was active in the neighbourhood. The inhabitants had informed the authorities of the situation; the latter replied that there was nothing to fear, because the military authorities were watching the neighbourhood. Nevertheless, one day in October the band made its appearance in the village, and attacked the houses where the peasants were hidden. To make them come out, the Greek bandits set everything on fire. Six houses were entirely burned, the others partially. A systematic pillage took place, but as the inhabitants of neighbouring villages came to the rescue, the Greek band took flight, carrying off a large number of horses.

On the 10th November a Greek band, ambushed at some distance from the village of *Sermenina*, caza of Ghevgheli,

attacked all the Bulgarians returning from the market ; two peasants were killed and one severely wounded. The others fled to escape the fate of their comrades. The band retired to the Turko-Greek village of Negortzi without being molested by the military authorities.

In the night of the 20th November a Greek band entered the village of *Dobroveni*, caza of Florina, and broke into the house of the Bulgarian notable Petko Mitreff. The house was literally sacked ; all the portable articles were carried off ; the cooking utensils were stolen ; the three horses in the stable taken away. The band, before leaving, commanded the inhabitants of the village to transmit to it, within six days, letters from the consul of Greece and from the Bishop of Monastir stating that the village had recognised the Patriarchate. Gheorgi Mitreff, brother of Petko, and Dimitri Bojanoff were carried off as hostages.

On the 22nd November some Greek bandits, disguised as hunters, fired on two Bulgarians who were going from Serres to the village of *Dutzia*. Shterio Stofanoff was killed at once ; Nicolas Popoff, slightly wounded, succeeded in taking flight.

On the 22nd November some agents of the Greek Committee fired on the Bulgarian Anton Tchelebi, through the window of his shop, and severely wounded him.

On the 24th November, about eight o'clock in the morning, a Greek band attacked the Exarchist village of *Zabardani*, caza of Florina, at half an hour's walk from the railway station of Banitza. Nicolas Nountcheff, Tipé Stofanoff, and his wife Neda Traptcheva were killed ; the women Maslina Kirkova and Thodora C. Donova severely wounded. The band, before leaving, burned the church, the house of Nicolas Nountcheff, and four stacks of straw.

On the 25th November a Greek band, ambushed in the outskirts of a forest, fired on some Bulgarian carriers who were carting wine from *Gumendjé* to the railway station.

Gheorghi Christoff was severely wounded ; his comrades managed to flee. The wounded man was taken dying to Salonica.

On the 29th November a Greek band attacked the Bulgarian village of *Gorno-Karadjovo*, caza of Serres. After having fired at the houses, they set fire to the dwellings of Nicolas Angoff and of Stoil Petroff. The two houses were burnt to cinders. During the fire many Bulgarians tried to extinguish the flames ; but the bandits, who were hiding at a distance, fired on them. It was the same band which, some days before, attacked the village of *Dolno-Karadjovo*, where, after molesting the inhabitants, it burned the house of M. Trentchoff.

During the month of December 1905 the captain of a Greek band, Panayoti, had addressed a threatening letter to the inhabitants of the Bulgarian village of *Skotchi-Vir*, caza of Monastir, to force them to recognise the Œcumenical Patriarchate. As the inhabitants refused to submit to the injunction of the chief of the band, the latter informed the Bulgarian notable Dedo Ivan Ghioreff, who was considered to have a great influence on his fellow-villagers, that he and his family would be murdered. Dedo Ivan fled to Monastir. The band of Panayoti carried off three of his horses and devastated his fields.

On the night of the 20th December a Greek band, knowing that a wedding was being celebrated in a Bulgarian house at *Alaré*, caza of Enidjé-Vardar, arrived unexpectedly in the house of feasting, and fired several shots at the guests. The woman Velica was killed, and Gono Christoff, Gligor Stoianoff, and the young girl Dona Arghirova were severely wounded.

At this wedding the Turk Murad Hodja was present. As he happened to be armed, he replied to the volley of the band. Other peasants, hearing the shots, came to the spot with shot-guns, and attacked the Greek band from behind. The band retired after setting fire to an adjoining house.

A Greek band, which had carried off on the 1st November, 1905, three Bulgarian notables of the village of *Mokreni*, caza of Kastoria, seeing themselves unmolested, ventured to return to the charge. This band, commanded by the captain Broufa, three times returned to the attack of the village to force the inhabitants to renounce the Exarchate. The Bulgarians Trifon Storkoff, Kolé Butchine, Christo Tolata, and Petar Athanasoff were cruelly beaten. The houses of the Bulgarian priest and of the peasant Gheorgi Tasseff were pillaged. The band committed other misdemeanours. The inhabitants of this unhappy village declared themselves vanquished; they addressed to the Greek Archbishop of Florina and to the caimacan of Kastoria a declaration in which they declared themselves Patriarchists.

On the 14th January, 1906, during the night, a Greek band of ten men crept into the forest of *Shikia*, caza of Cassandra, and reached a charcoal-burner's cabin inhabited by two Bulgarians of Monastir and by five others of the village of Tarlis, caza of Nevrocop—Gheorgi Simeonoff, Kostadin Filipoff, Ilia Angheloff, Dimitri Mangaroff, and Simeon Shapnoff. These unfortunates were preparing to begin work, when the bandits opened a murderous fire on them. The first five fell dead on the ground; the other two were severely wounded.

On the morning of the 30th January the Bulgarian Sapré Sotiroff was going to Serres accompanied by his servant and a peasant, both Bulgarians. Sotiroff was going to sell his corn in the market. When he arrived at the village of *Kulata* some Greek bandits attacked them with rifle-shots. Sotiroff was killed on the spot; his companions escaped.

A Greek band attacked, on the 18th February, the village of *Christos*. The bandits fired many shots at all the houses of the village; the house of the Bulgarian Athanas Storianoff was riddled with balls. The bandits were going to deliver an assault when, hearing some shots, they took flight.

On the 27th February the Bulgarian Ilia Traikoff, of the

village of *Kessendi-Tchiflik*, received three shots fired by some Greek *comitadjis* as he was coming out of his house. He fell severely wounded in the breast. The police took no measure to find the guilty persons, who are known.

The same day the Bulgarian Gheorghi Taneff Gramatikoff, of the village of *Voltchishta*, caza of Enidjé-Vardar, had gone to the market of the county town. As he was returning, on arriving near *Vehti-Pazar*, a village situated an hour's walk from Enidjé-Vardar, he was murdered by some men belonging to a Greek band. His body was found beheaded three days later.

In the night of the 27th February a certain number of Greek bandits obtained entrance to the village of *Lilyanovo*, same caza; they reached the house of the Bulgarian Trafo Russeff, set fire to it, and retired. All the inhabitants of the house would have been burned alive if one of the village watchmen had not given the alarm by firing some shots. The band continued to lurk in the neighbourhood, with the knowledge of the authorities.

On the 2nd March, towards evening, some Greek bandits assassinated the Bulgarian Diné Mileff, of the village of *Tchurilovo*, caza of Kastoria. The murder was committed at a short distance from Tchurilovo.

The same day a Greek band murdered a Bulgarian peasant of the village of *Kumanitchevo*.

On the 3rd March a Greek band, numbering thirty men, attacked the villages of *Polog* and *Tchenghel*, caza of Monastir. The peasants having fled to the forest, the bands took advantage of the opportunity to sack the village.

On the 4th March, in the evening, some Bulgarian charcoal-burners who were working in the mountains of *Beshik* near the village of this name, caza of Langaza, were attacked by a Greek band. Three of them, natives of the village of *Teshovo*, caza of Nevrocop, were killed by the bandits. Two other Bulgarian charcoal-burners had already been killed by the men of the same band in February.



Some days later the men of another Greek band murdered, by firing at them behind their backs, two Bulgarian charcoal-burners near the village of *Aiamama*, caza of Cassandra. The men of the same band also killed two other Bulgarian charcoal-burners. The four victims were natives of the caza of Ghevgheli.

On the 7th March a strong Greek band attacked during the night the village of *Gorno-Komanichevo*; the six best houses of this village were set on fire and burnt to cinders. The affrighted inhabitants had fled from their houses; the brigands took the opportunity to sack the entire village.

On the 8th March several Bulgarians of the village of *Saviak*, caza of Demir-Hissar, were going to get charcoal, when, on the road, at about a mile from the village in question, they were assailed by a brisk fire from a Greek-band. They nevertheless managed to escape, carrying one of their number, Anton Margaritoff, who had been severely wounded.

On the 12th March a Greek band, numbering eighty men, entered the Bulgarian village of *Golo*, caza of Enidjé-Vardar, and burned the houses of Dionissi Gheorghieff and Gotzé Ganoff. As the houses flamed, the band fired in all directions. Dionissi Gheorghieff was severely wounded.

The shepherds Tané Traïcoff and Kuzé Traptchevsky, as well as the farmers Naïdo Bezinoff, Kuzé Stopnoff (mayor), Mitré Christoff, and Athanas Peroff, of the village of *Rapesh*, caza of Perlepé, were captured on the 14th March by a Greek band. The chief of this band chose two of his captives, Kuzé and Mitré, to inform the peasants of Rapesh and of the neighbouring villages that if they did not abandon the Exarchate and return to the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate, they would be all massacred within five days. The four other captives were taken to the village of *Gradeshnitsa*, nahié of Morihovo. A horrible scene took place: the band, assembled in the court of the church, caused the legs of Naïdo Bezinoff to be cut off. He was then beaten to death. All this took place before the village, men and women assembled, and,

what appears incredible, before a detachment of forty soldiers who are quartered in that locality. The Greek band then took the three other captives into the neighbouring forest. At a spot chosen, three graves were dug. The night having come, the three poor Bulgarians managed to escape, but one of them, Kuzé Stoianoff, was killed by a shot as he ran away.

On the 15th March, towards midnight, a Greek band numbering two hundred men attacked the village of *Golishani*, caza of Vodena. The moment it entered the village, the band set several houses on fire. This village being the *tchiflik* of Tahir Bey, the latter arrived with three of his armed guards and all four exchanged a volley with the Greek band. The fight lasted half an hour; during this time the fire had made great strides. The military posts which were quite near made no movement. A peasant who had succeeded in escaping went to warn another post of what was happening. An officer arrived with twenty men, but the band had already retired. Three houses were burned to ashes, nothing being saved. Two Bulgarians were wounded pretty severely.

During the night of the 20th March a Greek band numbering - some sixty men attacked the inn of the village of *Toptchi*, near the Vardar, belonging to the Bulgarians Gheorgi Tantcheff, Christo Ingeff, Christo Guntchanoff, and Ivan Tantcheff. The bandits seeing that it was a difficult matter to get into the interior of the inn, placed a dynamite cartridge under the shutter of one of the windows, and then began to fire volleys, riddling all the windows with balls. Happily in the inn there was the Turkish carter Tahir, who was armed; this latter bravely replied with his revolver to the shots of the bandits, and forced them to retire. This inn is ten minutes from the bridge of the Vardar, where there is a strong detachment of troops. The band, nevertheless, was able to operate and retire without being molested.

On the 20th March the Bulgarians Athanas Gardeff and Stoian Angheloff Tcholeff, cotton merchants, of the village

of Libiahovo, caza of Nevrocop, were killed near the Greek village of *Kiup-Keny* (Zihna), where they had been to buy cotton. The assassins were Greek fanatics. The calmacan of Zihna, to efface rapidly the traces of the crime, caused the corpses to be buried at once, without any religious ceremony.

On the 26th March a Greek band, eighty strong, invaded the Bulgarian village of *Tchenguel*, nahié of Morihovo. It occupied the village for thirteen hours, ill-treating all the peasants to force them to recognise the Patriarchate. Then it departed, taking eleven of the inhabitants, among them the priest, sixty-five years old, ill and blind of one eye. The unfortunate man, not being able to walk, was placed on a horse. People of some ten other villages were that day at *Tchenguel*. The chief of the band told all these people that if the village of *Tchenguel* and the neighbouring villages did not come back to the Patriarchate the eleven prisoners would be massacred, which would not prevent the band coming back and killing all the inhabitants.

A strong Greek band went, on the 30th March, to the Bulgarian village of *Vranievtzi*, caza of Monastir, and laid hands on the Bulgarians Christo Petroff and Petré Todoreff. On arriving at their den, the bandits released two prisoners and charged them to go and tell the inhabitants of their village and of the neighbouring villages that if they did not renounce the Exarchate and ask the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate, *Vranievtzi*, as well as the neighbouring villages, would be destroyed by fire, and all their inhabitants massacred.

The same band went afterwards to the village of *Orlé*, caza of Perlepé, and captured the Bulgarians Stofan Kordeff, Naïdo Tryptcheff, and the shepherd Itzo. A quarter of an hour's walk from this village the band killed the two first. It is not known what became of the third. The band seized all the ornaments of the women, some of whom were moreover violated. It also acquired a large booty, which it loaded on horses taken in the village.

The inhabitants of the villages of *Orlé*, of *Vranievtzi*, of *Tzaritchani*, of *Aglartzi*, and of the market-towns in the neighbourhood have abandoned their dwellings and hidden themselves in the neighbouring villages, for fear of being massacred.

On the 3rd April a Greek band, commanded by the chief Katcholaki, assailed a group of Bulgarians who were going to the market at *Karaferia*. The Bulgarians Gheorghi Parish, Traptché Pope Ivanoff, Gheorghi Traptcheff, of the village of Dolno-Kufalovo, and Gheorghi Lutak, of the village of Golishani, were killed; Ghelé Geheshoff and Pascal Petroff were wounded.

On the 8th April a Greek band, commanded by the chief Costa Acritas, laid hold of the Bulgarian rural policemen of the village of *Messimer*, caza of Vodena, Ivan Vassilieff and Tasho Kioroff. Dragging them to a lonely spot, they beheaded them, and on their mutilated bodies the chief of the band left a letter in which he declared that it was by his order that the unfortunates had been killed.

On the night of the 8th April thirty-five Bulgarian charcoal-burners of the village of Teshevo, caza of Nevrocop, sandjak of Serres, were attacked by a strong Greek band near the village of *Rumila*.

There was a general stampede; when the group came together again it was ascertained that Gheorghi Pchinaroff, Mano Massolishski, and two brothers Nicolas and Anghel Vutcheff were missing. These are believed to have been killed.

Three days before, on the 5th April, two Bulgarians of the village of *Yutch-Doruck*, same caza, had been killed by the same Greek band.

On the 10th April Nicolas Metchkaroff and Constantine Nicoloff, of the village of *Laki*, same caza, were killed while returning from Strumitza by the men of a Greek band. Their corpses were thrown by the bandits into the Struma.

During the month of April a Greek band numbering

about forty-five men entered the Bulgarian village of *Makros*, caza of Karaferia, and laid hold of Nicolas, called the Vlach, after having surrounded his house. The chief of the band asked if Nicolas was Greek or Vlach. Nicolas, being afraid, replied that he was a Greek like his father. The chief of the bandits then sent the two sons of Nicolas to fetch the mukhtar, the aza, and one of the notables of the village. When all were assembled, the band took them prisoners, and carried them off. Next day the corpse of Nicolas was found not far from the village; at some way from this corpse lay those of the aza and of the notable; finally three hundred yards away was found the corpse of the mukhtar. Only the two sons of Nicolas had succeeded in escaping.

Beside the mukhtar the authorities found a letter written in Greek, signed by the chief of the band, and bearing the seal of the committee. Among other things, this letter said :

We are numerous, and God is with us; I have killed them conformably to the decision of the committee and to give an example to traitors. We shall continue until not a single Bulgarian remains.

A Greek band, about a hundred strong, attacked, in the night of the 1st May, the village of *Lescovetz*, caza of Florina, vilayet of Monastir. The band had principally in view the slaying of the notables Dolé Christoff and Pando Vaneff; not finding them at home, they set fire to the two houses. The bandits looted, on the same occasion, some ten houses of the village. After the pillage these houses were burnt to cinders. A large number of domestic animals perished in the flames, agricultural implements and a great quantity of provisions were destroyed. There were also the following deaths: the rural policeman Tolé Petroff, and the farmers Tanasse Gheorghieff and Mitzé Carshihor. A certain Ilia Koleff was wounded.

On the 14th May seven Greek *comitadjis* entered a *khan* at *Eleuthoroshi*, caza of Caterina, a village situated on the sea-shore, in the proximity of a military post, and killed two Bulgarian watchmen. They then retired without being molested.

A strong Greek band tried to enter, on the 30th May last, about nightfall, the Bulgarian village of *Bukh*, caza of Florina, which had been beforehand threatened with destruction if it did not declare itself Patriarchist. The inhabitants resisting courageously, the bandits had to retire. On the road they encountered five Bulgarian inhabitants of the village of *Bukh* and murdered them.

On the 2nd June a Greek band, numbering twenty men, captured in an ambushade, between the village of *Sendeltchevo*, caza of Enidjé-Vardar, and the river of Kalodey, the Bulgarians Athanas Djuteff, Ivan Athanassoff, and Christo Meleff. The two first were murdered on the spot, the third received a stab from a knife in the breast. At a very short distance from the place of the murder there is a military post, to which the cries of the victims certainly reached ; not a soldier disturbed himself, however. Beside the corpses a letter was found written in Greek and signed "Captain Kodros." It contained the following :

We have not molested you till now, hoping that you would repent. But in future, not one of you will be able to go anywhere until you have recognised the Orthodox Church.

On the same day a strong Greek band captured, near the village of *Ezeretz*, caza of Kastoria, two shepherd-boys, Ghelé Stavroff, eight years old, and Diné Sterioff, nine years. Then they entered the village, where they set fire to three houses and five barns, killed little Diné and burned his comrade alive ; after which they departed unmolested, taking with them the flocks of sheep and thirty-seven head of cattle which had been herded by the two children. A post of one hundred and thirty soldiers, lying at an hour's distance from the village, took no notice of this exploit.

On the night of the 8th June a Greek band attacked in the fields, near the village of *Kavakli*, caza of Salonica, several Bulgarians. One Vanghel, native of the village of *Bogdantzi*, caza of Ghevgheli, was killed, another wounded and carried dying to the municipal hospital of Salonica.

The Bulgarian Ivan Bojinoff, native of the village of *Gughovo*, caza of Voden, was attacked on the 11th June by two Greek *comitadjis*, at half an hour's walk from his village, while working in his field, in company of his little daughter, aged ten. The child managed to escape and inform the relatives of Bojinoff. When the latter arrived on the spot they found Bojinoff stretched on the ground in his death agony.

On the night of the 13th June a Greek band, numbering from thirty-five to forty men, attacked the house of the Bulgarian Christo Meshkoff, of the village of *Petorac*, caza of Monastir. The bandits murdered the father of the owner of the house, one Petroff, an old man of eighty; then they sacked the house and burned it.

This same band had invaded, on the same day, the village of *Bitoshé*, caza of Monastir, seized the Bulgarians Stoian Toleff and Ilio Ivanoff, and, having taken them outside the town, beheaded them.

On the 15th June a Greek band, numbering sixty men, entered the village of *Lissolai*, situated an hour and a half's journey from Monastir. They killed the two Bulgarian priests of the village, named Vassil and Dimitri; the sons of the second and four other Bulgarians were also murdered. On the corpse of the priest Dimitri the chief of the band placed his card, bearing the name Georgios Doconimos Lacris, commandant in Macedonia.

The band afterwards departed unmolested.

On the night of the same day a Greek band entered the village of *Ilindjievo*, caza of Salonica, and threw a bomb at the house of the Bulgarian Bojine Mileff. The explosion severely wounded the little girl Bojana, aged twelve, and the boy Sreben, aged six. The band then sprinkled the house of Popoff with petroleum and set fire to it, and, going off to some distance, to prevent any succour being given, fired several hundred rounds at the houses of the village, after which it departed unmolested.

At three-quarters of an hour's walk from there, in the

village of Mentoshé, is a military post, where the firing was distinctly heard. The soldiers did not trouble themselves about the matter at the time, and only came to the village next day to make an inquiry.

On the same night a Greek band, numbering ninety men, tried to enter the village of *Algaré*, каза of Enidjé-Vandar, with the purpose of setting fire to it. The Turkish rural policemen, Hassan Tchaoush and Suleyman, helped by three peasants, succeeded in repulsing the bandits. The soldiers only came to the help of the village the next morning. They found outside the village two quarts of petroleum, a large hatchet, a Mauser revolver, and a large quantity of cartridges.

On June 28th was found in the meadows belonging to the Greek priest of the village of *Kutchos*, каза of Serres, the corpses of the Bulgarians Athanas Minkoff Guleff, fifty-eight years old, and of Gheorghi Nicoloff Vishan, aged thirty, inhabitants of the village of Bansko, каза of Razlog. It has been ascertained that these two Bulgarians were murdered by Greeks affiliated in all probability to the committee of Serres.

On the 30th June a Greek band captured, between the village of *Bobishta* and that of *Zagoritchani*, каза of Kastoria, the Bulgarians Gheorghi Mileff and Mitro Athanasoff, both of the village of Doleni. It is not known what has become of those two men.

On the same day the same band captured the Bulgarians Philip Tilzoff and Mishé Eiloff Mantcleff, of *Zagoritchani*. All that has been ascertained with regard to them is that the band took them into the woods; the authorities have contented themselves with collecting the details given them, but have taken no measures to find the captives.

Some men belonging to a Greek band infesting the neighbourhood of *Guredjil*, каза of Drama, having encountered during the month of June the Bulgarian Athanas Stolanoff, dragged him into the forest adjoining the said village, and there hanged him on a tree.



A Greek band on the 6th July murdered the boys Mito Kuzeff and Filé Miteff, of the village of *Zagoritchani*.

Another Greek band killed, on the 23rd July, the Bulgarian Pavlé Sarbinosky, of the village of *Bukovo*.

A Greek band, numbering forty men, entered on the 9th July the village of *Optitchari*, caza of Monastir, and seized the four brothers Tzvetan, Milé, Vidin, and Lazare Tasseff, and Christo Taleff. The band took the unfortunate men to some distance from the village and beheaded them. According to the information supplied by the peasants the Greek priest of the village of Velutchina, named Ilia, was with the antarthés.

The Italian colonel of gendarmerie Alberti and the Italian major Ciconini went to the scene of the crime and verified the facts.

To punish the refusal of the villagers of *Gornitchevo*, caza of Florina, to enter the fold of the Patriarchate, the Greeks decided to burn the village and massacre the population. A Greek band, a hundred strong, was charged with this business. On the 29th July the band tried to enter the village, but was received by the inhabitants with rifle-shots. A fight of some duration followed, which gave a detachment of troops time to arrive at the village. The band then fled, leaving eleven killed and three prisoners.

A Greek band, numbering fifty men, entered, on the 8th July, the village of *Deli-Hassan-Mahala*, and killed the Bulgarian notable Vassil Nicoloff in his shop.

The young Bulgarian Thodor Begoff, thirteen years old, of the village of Vladovo, caza of Vodena, and the Vlach Sandré Miteff, a native of the village of Grammatikovo, were murdered in the evening of the 10th July at a quarter of an hour's walk from the village of *Vladovo*. This crime was committed by the men of a Greek band infesting the district between the villages of Vladovo and Teovo.

Two children, aged ten and thirteen years, of the village of *Miklen*, caza of Serres, were killed on the 27th July at some distance from their village by a Greek band.

Two other unfortunate little Bulgarians had their ears cut off on the same day ; thus mutilated, the band sent them to the Greek consulate.

The Bulgarian villager Dimitri Christoff Karapaleff, of *Zelenitché*, was captured and murdered on the 1st August by a Greek band as he was working in his garden. After this glorious exploit the band retired to Elehovo without being molested by the military post of the village, which numbers one hundred and twenty soldiers.

On the 12th August a Greek band murdered, near Florina, the old man Dimé Tomassoff, his son Gregor, aged eighteen, and wounded his daughter Gheorghia. On leaving, the band took with it the Bulgarians Mihal Petroff, Petré Daftcheff, Mité Naoumtcheff, and Talé Minkoff. Their fate is unknown.

The four brothers Mantchoff, of the village of *Krupishta*, who were going to Mavrovo on the 15th July, were encountered by a Greek band, which took them into the forest. There a fire was lit, and the unfortunates hung up above it, suspended to a tree. Three of the tortured men died thus in horrible agony. Chance allowed the fourth to escape and relate the story.

A Greek band massacred, on the 8th August, seven Bulgarian notables of the village of *Krishtitza*.

A Greek band entered, on the 16th August, the village of *Stensco*, caza of Kastoria, with the purpose of seizing the Bulgarian notable Costa Gandjeff. Learning that he was in the village of *Tchuka*, the band went there too, and captured, besides Costa Sandjeff, the Bulgarian notables Ilu Doreff, Naoum Vassileff, and Christo Stepoff. Although the villagers had promised to return to the Patriarchate, all the captives were murdered in the neighbouring forest.

The Greek captain Sevas, at the head of a band numbering fifty men, attacked, on the 25th August, during the night, the Bulgarian village of *Bozets*, caza of Enidjé-Vardar. The peasants, by an unusual chance, were armed, and replied to

the fire of the bandits with much valour ; they succeeded in putting them to flight. The military detachment posted at Petrovo, a village near at hand, did not move at the sound of the firing, although it was informed of what was happening.

A party of twenty peasants of the Bulgarian village of Serigovo, caza of Zahnen, who were going to the market of Serres, fell into an ambuscade near the village of *Chilinos*. The bandits bungled the attack—only one peasant was wounded—after which they went off, abandoning a large number of Gras rifles and cartridges. These munitions were collected by the Turkish authorities who came to make an inquiry next day.

On the same day the Bulgarian Stortché Bojinoff, of the village of *Kladorabi*, caza of Florina, was busy cutting wood in the forest, with his child of seven, when a Greek band, passing that way, caught sight of him. The unfortunate man was killed like a sheep. His child managed by a miracle to escape.

On the 23rd August last a party of thirty Bulgarians, three of whom were from the village of *Raïkovo*, caza of Akhy-Tcheleby, some tailors from the village of *Dolna-Rakovitza*, some market-gardeners of *Medeli* and *Adata*, and two merchants of *Derideré*, left Sketché to go to this last village. Fearing to encounter some of the Greek bands, which are very numerous in these parts, the travellers left at the same time as the mail-carrier, who is always guarded by soldiers. But this precaution did not save them. On arriving at the place called *Starata-Kula*, between the villages of Almaly and Selim, they were perceived by a strong band, which fired several volleys at them. All the travellers were killed.

On the 28th August a Greek band entered the Bulgarian village of *Barakli-Djumaïa*, caza of Demir-Hissar, and killed the notable Vatcho Gheorghieff in his house, while he was dining in the midst of his family. The son of the murdered man and his son Thomas owed their lives to a

mere chance. The antarthes were able to retire after the murder without being interfered with by the troops.

The Greek committee of Serres caused its men to assassinate, on the 30th August, the Bulgarian Vangel Todonoff, of the village of *Klepushina*, caza of Zihna; the unfortunate man was a workman on the railway.

On the same day the Bulgarian Demetre Oreshkoff, of the village of *Skrigiovo*, was severely wounded and left for dead by some adherents of the Greek committee.

The next day these same men murdered, near the village of *Shemaltos*, a Bulgarian miller of this village.

From information obtained the names of the Greek committee's executioners have been ascertained to be Procop Companos and Moralis Georges; they have not even been questioned by the police.

During the month of August last a Greek band, numbering sixty men, attacked eleven Bulgarians who were working in the fields near the place called *Shiola*, caza of Enidjé-Vardar. At the moment of the attack a Bulgarian band of eight men suddenly made its appearance, and, pouring a heavy fire on the Greeks, put them to flight.

On the 29th August the agents of the Greek committee - massacred in the open market, at *Kavalla*, the Bulgarian notable Mitrush Ivanoff, of the village of Alistra. The police did not interfere with them.

A party of fifteen Bulgarians who worked in a coal-pit near the village of *Derigovo* were returning home on the 4th September to the village of Gaitaninovo, caza of Nevrocop. When they arrived at the place called *Pambuk*, the travellers were attacked by the men of a Greek band, distributed in four ambuscades, who killed the Turkish driver Ismail Tchaoush, and the Bulgarians Peter Karamfiloff, aged seventeen, Peter Nicoloff, and Peter Ilieff, aged eighteen.

The first of these two last had in his pocket £T4, the second £T10; their corpses were found without that money. The other Bulgarians, who escaped by miracle and supplied

details of the butchery, have stated that the Greek metropolitan and the Greek consul at Serres have resolved and declared that they would not permit any Bulgarians to enter their zone of influence, and that those who took the risk would be killed either coming or going.

Dotko Bratkoff, Murjé Dimoff, Stefan Tzvetkoff, and Stané Stofanoff, of *Deshishta*; Kolé Petroff, his son Mitré Koleff, and Joché Ognianoff, of *Monastiretz*, in the Morihovo, being suspected of defection from their recently adopted Patriarchist sentiments, were murdered by one of the bands of the Greek committee of Monastir in the night of the 21st September.

On the 20th September a band of Cretans entered the Exarchist village of *Bareshani*, caza of Monastir, and went directly to the house of the Bulgarian notable Nicolas Athanasoff. The bandits brought out into the courtyard Athanasoff, his brothers Anghel and Peter, as well as his son Anton, and shot them. The wife of Anton, surprised while she was suckling her child, implored the Cretans to spare her relatives. By way of reply the unfortunate woman received a shot which stretched her dead on the ground. A little girl of fourteen, Grozda Petrova, was severely wounded in the back by a shot. The band, after these murders, retired, without being molested.

### III. THE TURKO-GREEK COLLABORATION

The inhabitants of *Smokvitsa*, caza of Ghevgheli, having been informed that a Greek band was preparing to attack the village to kill several of their notables, organised an armed militia of rural policemen. On the 14th March, 1905, in the evening, the Greek band made its appearance. The rural policemen received it with a volley, and the bandits took flight.

The next day a company of soldiers came to search the village and take away all the weapons, and then the military chiefs declared that only the regular army had a right to

repulse the band with rifles. The inhabitants of Smokvitza complained to the calmacan of Ghevgheli, but without avail. There were Turks in the Greek band in question.

On the evening of the 13th August, 1905, eight Greek bandits, armed and masked, gained entrance to the house of the Bulgarian notable Traïkoff, of the village of *Eleshnitza*, caza of Petritch, and ordered him to follow them. Traïkoff tried to defend himself, but he was quickly bound. His son Tassé, who ran to his help, was killed before his eyes. Traïkoff was taken to a distance of an hour's walk from the village and murdered. His corpse, which was found next day, was a mass of bleeding flesh. The head was cut off, and the ears had been removed. The procurator, who came to the village to open an inquiry into the affair, declared to the inhabitants that they must expect many crimes of that nature if they persisted in remaining Exarchists. The murderers were not punished.

In the beginning of the month of August 1905, on a Sunday, the Bulgarian priest of the village of *Messimer* had gone early in the morning to the monastery of the Holy Trinity, situated at a short distance from the village, to celebrate Mass. He was accompanied by one of the church ephors, by two choristers, and two inhabitants of the village. The party was under the protection of armed soldiers. The priest had hardly begun the ceremony when fifty Greek bandits, commanded by Acritas, entered the church, yelling and firing in the air. They threw themselves on the priest, the two choristers, the ephor, and the two worshippers, and dragged them out of the church. The unfortunates were shot at, and then their throats were cut like sheep. Two villagers, who came to hear the Mass, witnessed that terrible scene from their hiding-place. As for the five soldiers, as soon as the affair began they quietly went off to the village.

The Greek band, while retiring towards the village of Pod, came across a company of Turkish soldiers; four of the bandits were killed at the first discharge, but the Turkish officer, perceiving that he had to do with Greeks, ceased fire

at once, and declared that if he had known he was engaged with Greeks, he would not have fired.

The inhabitants of the village of *Osnitchani*, caza of Kastoria, last September addressed a complaint to Hilmi Pasha, of which the gist was as follows :

In the course of the month of March, the notables of the village of Osnitchani had received several threatening letters from the Greek committee, ordering them to declare themselves Patriarchists and adherents of the Greek party under threat of being exterminated and their village burned. The letters were communicated to the authorities, but no measures were taken for the defence of the village.

On the 7th September a Greek band, two hundred and fifty strong, among whom were Turkish and Albanian brigands from the surrounding villages, attacked the village. The peasants made a vigorous resistance, but they numbered only eight men armed with rifles, and after a two hours' fight they had to give way, leaving several killed and wounded, among whom was the priest Thoma Zissoff. The brigands despatched the unfortunate man, after having cut off his arms and nose, torn out his tongue, and put out his eyes. Four women and a child were severely wounded. The village was set on fire ; seventeen houses were burned, as well as the principal granaries. Some peasants of Moghila, Martchishta, Doleni, and Jujontzi coming to the succour of the village, the brigands retired, taking with them grain, furniture, and loot from the houses, and about £T150.

The detachment of regular soldiers, whose barracks is only two hours' march from the village, only arrived six hours after the departure of the bandits. The public prosecutor came to inquire and declared to the inhabitants of Osnitchani that the Government recognised them as Greek sympathisers, and that if they did not become so really, the Greek bands would bring them to reason. Lieutenant Kaber Effendi added : " Whose fault is it ? Become Greeks if you want to be left in peace."

The peasants abandoned their village in the fear of seeing the band return.

Copies of this complaint were addressed to the vali of Monastir, to the consuls, and to the Italian officers.

A very strong Greek band occupied on the 11th September, 1905, the Exarchist village of *Dragosh*, near Monastir, where the bandits passed two days with the Turkish soldiers, making merry and talking with them. The villagers, to save their skins, were forced to declare themselves Patriarchists.

The same band occupied, on the 14th September, a neighbouring village, *Rakovo*, whose inhabitants had fled. The pillaging was done thoroughly and systematically, and the only three villagers who had remained at home were made prisoners.

On the 13th September a Greek band attacked the village of *Staritchani*, where they set fire to fourteen houses and fired on the villagers. Twelve persons, men, women, and children, were shot.

The commander of the gendarmerie of Krupishta, Haïdar Bey, went to these villages, as soon as the Greeks had accomplished their mission, and threatened the villagers with still bloodier massacres if they did not embrace the Greek cause.

On the 7th October, 1905, a detachment numbering forty soldiers of the post at Barovitza, caza of Enidjé-Vardar, accompanied by the officer of gendarmerie Zia Effendi, of Gumendjé, came to the village of *Kriva* to search the houses of the Bulgarians Itcho Gonoff, Cotcho Pulkoff, Itcho Tanoff, and Itcho Spritgoff. Now, among these soldiers, the peasants recognised, wearing the military uniform, a certain Itcho Ivanu, a Greek bandit, who was arrested with the Greek band captured near the village of Petrovo. The bandit Itcho Ivanu had been tried and condemned. He had, therefore, come out of prison to work with the soldiers.

One of the principal Greek bands which was active in 1905 in the caza of *Vodena*, and which numbered among its members the redoubtable bandits Gheorghi Pitché, Diné, Stoïko, Triptché, Stoïtché, of the Greek party, of the village



of Vladovo, caza of Vodena, was helped by the Albanians Djemal and Distan. This Turko-Greek band killed six Bulgarians, separately, during the month of September 1905.

On the 23rd October the Bulgarian peasants Vanghel Ivanoff and Peter Spiroff, of the village of *Messimer*, caza of Vodena, were assailed while working in their gardens, quite near the village, by a Greek band and some Turkish soldiers. They were beaten so severely that they fainted and were left for dead. Vanghel Ivanoff managed, however, to reach the village, but Peter Spiroff, who was found by a patrol covered with blood, was carried to the prison at Vodena and incarcerated as a *comitadji*.

In the beginning of November 1905 some Greek bandits, from the convent of Saint George, near the village of *Deli-Hassan-Mahla*, surrounded the house of the Bulgarian priest of this village, Gheorgghi Dragloff, and fired several times at his father, Draglo Yaneff, the mayor of the village. These two Bulgarians had informed the mutessarif of Serres, several days before, that threatening letters had been sent to them, because they tried, it was said, to prevent the village going over to the Patriarchate. They had also stated that those letters had been sent by the chief of a strong Greek band which had taken refuge in the convent of Saint George. But the authorities took no steps against the band, and it continued to terrorise the Bulgarian villages in the neighbourhood.

On the 22nd November the bandits returned to the attack on the house of Draglo Yaneff. The latter and his son, seeing that no measure was taken to protect them, had left their house and taken refuge with friends. The bandits, finding nobody, set fire to the house.

It has been ascertained that in this band was the notorious Turkish brigand Veli, of Kylkych, who for thirteen years has been infesting the cazas of Kylkych, Demir-Hissar, and Serres.

In the month of November 1905 the Greek Yani Argheros, a man of the Greek committee, was terrorising the Bulgarian

villages of the *caza* of *Ghevgheli*, at the head of a detachment of thirty soldiers. A report addressed by him to the *caïmacan* was seized; this report was handed over to the civil agents. This same Yani Argheros tried to murder the Bulgarian Thomas Bayalzalieff. The latter could not get a hearing for his complaint, the chief of police having declared that Yani was an agent of the secret police.

Nevertheless, in the beginning of the month of December a Greek band having been captured by the troops, Yani Argheros was found among its members. As he was wounded, he was sent to the hospital. On the 10th December the criminal tribunal of Salomica had to give sentence in the trial of this band. Argheros, who appeared with the other bandits, declared, with the purpose of extenuating his responsibility, that he was in the band by order, and that he belonged to the police of Salónica in the quality of *attaché* of Galib Pasha. He received, he said, a salary of £10 per month and had always had his expenses paid by the *caïmacan* of Ghevgheli. The case was adjourned, but, instead of the £10 per month which Argheros said he received from the Turkish police, it has been established that he only had £2.

Yani Argheros was condemned to two and a half years imprisonment and £2 fine; his companions got off with a year's imprisonment.

On the 10th December, 1905, the Bulgarian notable Gheorghi Petroff, a native of the village of *Zarnovo*, *caza* of Nevrocop, innkeeper at Drama, was shot between the villages of Lissé and Sardtchan by Turkish bandits in the pay of the Greek committee of Drama.

In the same month of December a deputation of Bulgarians of the town of *Ghevgheli* went to Salonica to complain to Hilmi Pasha and to the civil agents of men in the pay of the Greek committee. They made known the annoyances of all kinds to which they were subject, and handed over the threatening letters addressed to them. Among the persons composing this deputation was the

Bulgarian merchant Gotzé Hadji-Mitzeff. Now, on the day that the deputation returned to Ghevgheli the son of Hadji-Mitzeff, aged fourteen, was poignarded while returning from a mill situated ten minutes' walk from the town.

As the police commissioner who examined Gotzé-Mitzeff asked him who were the persons he suspected, the latter named Kavardjik Balbane and Kokotchova, whom he knew to have been paid by the Greek committee to commit the crime. The commissioner, hearing these names, declared, "These people belong to our side," and he rejected the accusation concerning them, although witnesses confirmed it.

Assured thus of impunity, Kavardjik fired, on the 17th December, a revolver-shot at the Bulgarian Anton Shekerdjata, in the middle of Ghevgheli. The unfortunate man was severely wounded, but the police again refused to arrest the Greek murderer.

On the 8th January, 1906, at *Monastir*, a party of terrorists overran the Bulgarian quarter of Eni-Mahalé, insulting and threatening the Bulgarians whom they met. The latter having tried to defend themselves, the Greeks fired revolvers at them. That the police were present has been verified, and that they lent their support to the Greeks in retiring. The agents of the Greek committee afterwards met in a chemist's shop, and drew up there a list in which were noted the Bulgarians who were returning home. At this moment, two of these last were brutally handled and searched by the police; a third, Lambo Raditcheff, committed suicide to escape these outrages.

A Greek band of about a hundred men, aided by Turks, took the road to the Bulgarian village of *Ezeretz*, caza of Kastoria, on the evening of the 23rd January, and tried to set it on fire. As usual, on entering the village the bandits fired shots at random to frighten the inhabitants, then, placing themselves to windward, they put inflammable matter close to several large houses, and, having sprinkled them with petroleum, set fire to them. The flames rapidly spread to several barns and a house; but while one party of the inhabitants worked at extinguishing the flames, a

great many villagers engaged in a fierce fight with the Greek bandits. Soon seven of these latter were stretched on the pavement. The Albanian Sefedine, who was among them, was wounded ; the other rascals took to flight. An unfortunate Bulgarian woman was burned alive.

On the 8th May the men of a Greek band, composed of a great many Greeks and Turks of the villages of Negovan, of Vartolom, and of Pessoshniza, каза of Florina, murdered in broad daylight, at *Leskovetz*, Kolé Gheorghieff, aged fifty, and Mitzé Karchitor, aged seventy ; they severely wounded the Bulgarian Ilu Koloff. The bandits then set fire to eleven houses, granaries, and ten barns. A great many animals perished in the flames.

In the night of the 11th May a Greek band, numbering twenty men, made an audacious attack on three inns at an hour and a half's journey from Salonica, on the road to Serres. This band aimed chiefly at exterminating the family of the Bulgarian Stavré, a native of Yeni-Keuy, recently acquitted in the mysterious affair of the bombs of Zeitinlyk. The approach of the bandits to the inns was made known by barking dogs. They fired on these ; but the alarm had been given, and those in the inns replied to the fire of the bandits and succeeded in putting them to flight.

Nevertheless, at less than ten minutes' walk from the three inns a squad of soldiers guarding the railway did not trouble themselves to see what might be the meaning of such firing at so short a distance from Salonica.

A Greek band, numbering forty men, and accompanied by the Turks Nedjib Rifat and Fehim, entered on the 4th June the Bulgarian village of *Krapeshino*, каза of Florina, and seized the priest Gantcho and his son Christo. The bandits took the two unfortunates into the country, and when they had come to a lonely spot began to torture the priest. Successively they cut off his hands, nose, and tongue. Then it was the turn of the son of the priest ; he was covered with cuts. The unfortunate man managed nevertheless to escape.

After committing these first crimes, the band returned to the village and assassinated, under the eyes of their wives, and in as cruel a way, the Bulgarians Thanas Noteff, aged forty, and Mitré Traptcheff, aged twenty-five.

The Greek committee of *Krushevo* caused the murder, in the month of May, of the Kutzo-Vlach Patrechincu. Among the assassins hired for this work there was a Turk of the village of Andałtzi, who, being denounced, recounted, before the public prosecutor, without any embarrassment, the murders he had committed up till then for the Greek committee. He confessed to having killed seven Bulgarians and Kutzo-Vlachs, among them two Bulgarian priests, and this at the instigation of the chief of the Greek terrorists, Laki Marco, who recompensed him handsomely for his crimes. This murderer, in spite of his confession, was set at liberty.

In the first half of July a man named Untcho was found murdered in the neighbourhood of *Krushevo*. There was no sign to incriminate the Bulgarians; nevertheless, four Bulgarians were arrested at random—Nicolas Kuzmanoff, Mikhail Nicoloff, Ivan Belganohoff, and Ilia Landoff. These were being taken to prison by gendarmes when they were attacked by a party of Greeks. Instead of defending their prisoners, the gendarmes made off, and the unfortunates were half killed by the Greek population.

Three armed Albanians were arrested on the 10th August, 1906, in the country between *Prossotchen* and *Plevna*, caza of Drama. Being examined, they said they belonged to a band whose other members were Greeks of Prossotchen, who were also arrested. These men confessed they were in the pay of the mayor of Prossotchen, named Leonidas, of Dr. Athanas, a Vlach by nationality, but an adherent of the Greek party, and of Ivan Balabanoff, a notable of Plevna, and that their mission was to kill Bulgarians. The band's accomplices in the village of Egri-Deré, caza of Zihna, were Procope Comboco and his son Pericles. The persons informed against were examined by the authorities, and then set at liberty.

Here is a translation of an extract from the accounts and of some letters belonging to a Greek band, the originals of which fell into the hands of Bulgarians in the month of September, 1906. The contents of these letters amply prove the intimate relations between the bands of Greek murderers and the Turkish troops, and the protection which the Turkish police and officers grant to the antarthes, whether it is because they have been bribed by the Greek committees or because ordered to do so by the higher powers.

## I

## SALARIES

In the village of Biglishta :	£T.
Séraphim Mikhaïl, courier . . . . .	1½
Spiro Vlakhos, courier . . . . .	1
Alexandre Rufa, harbourer . . . . .	½
<i>The police agent Anastassios</i> . . . . .	2
<i>The brigadier Hassan Tchaoush</i> . . . . .	2
In the village of Smyrdesh :	
K. Ilias . . . . .	1½
G. Constantinou . . . . .	1½
G. Pandou . . . . .	1½
Anton Vassiliou . . . . .	1½
Three other persons . . . . .	3
In the village of Kossinetz (caza of Goritza) :	
Antonios Lazarou . . . . .	1½
In the village of Vambel :	
Christos Gheorghiou . . . . .	1
In the village of Vrybnik :	
(A sign) . . . . .	1
Sent this once in time <i>vid</i> Goritza.	

## II

DEAR FRIEND,

Conformably to your letter of the 11th instant, we have come here to bring back to Orthodoxy the villages of your district. It is indispensable that you should come as soon as you get this letter, to give me information necessary to the execution of our mission, and that we may come to an understanding as to the best means of massacring a certain number of the villagers of Babgor and of Turié.

From the village of Viglishta we have written to you at Florina to announce our approach to you, but I do not know if my letter arrived. Bring us bread and brandy.

Fraternally yours,

LEONIDAS, *Captain*.

25th August, 1906.

## III

REVEREND FATHER STAVRO (at Pissoder),

Your idea of making a clean sweep of the villages inhabited by the enemies of Hellenism will be put into execution. I have orders from our chief for that operation, and I have come from Devol by way of Yannoveni to Smardesh, where I almost had an encounter with a Bulgarian band *in a place very far removed from the Turkish detachments*. I believe that you received notice of our approach from Viglishta. I am ordered to undertake nothing before seeing you and coming to an understanding with you about an attack on the village of Pissoder, as Costas Kentros has written you from Florina. What are your people doing with the mudir and the muliazim? [the sub-prefect and the sub-lieutenant]. We are charged, besides, to put the village of Bouf on the right path by the massacre of a certain number of its inhabitants. It is urgent that all this should be finished. I ask you therefore to come as soon as possible to settle things with us, for, as I have just said, I am ordered to do nothing without you. Send us twenty okes of bread and other victuals. When you come, bring with you two okes of *loukoum* [a kind of Turkish sweetmeat], one oke of brandy, and three okes of tobacco.

I salute you and kiss your hands.

Your son in Jesus Christ,  
BELOS, *Captain*.

27th August, 1906.

## IV

DEAR FRIEND,

We have got to a safe place, and may the Lord keep us from evil. Caravotis and Nicolaïdes [two chiefs renowned for their ferocity] have remained in the village of Elovo, with a certain number of braves. *They have nothing to fear there: the detachment of the Turkish army has taken them under its protection*. I hear they are not needed at Corestia. The villages of Nered and of Carpeshtina have embraced Orthodoxy, but to keep them to their obedience it is absolutely necessary that the little bands should occupy them. These bands will be sent, but Papayoannis, Vassili Papas, and Petros Vassiliou *must come to an understanding with officers of the detachments in the neighbourhood, so that they shall not molest the three little bands*. These gentlemen will also see that they are provisioned.

Vassili Papas and Petros Vassiliou are energetic and very devoted, every time we have need of them. They are the first to murder people, as happened at Carpeshtina: then they succeed in hiding themselves, sometimes in the mountains and sometimes in the villages. Accompanying this is a letter for Kentros at Florina.

Your friend,

ACHILLES, *Chief of Band*.

NERED, 10th July, 1906.

## V

DEAR FRIEND,

I have received and read your letter.

I wrote you from Florina some days ago, but I have not yet heard if my letter came to hand. I have taken advantage of the school holidays to go into the villages of Pissoder and Gelevo to speak with Naoum Andrea, Traŭko Mendjako, and the innkeeper Andrico, and we have agreed that it is indispensable to assassinate at Pissoder three or four fanatical Roumanians, if we are to get protection and refuge there. I congratulate you on the idea which you put forth on a clean sweep of the villages which you name, and I cannot sufficiently urge you to put it into execution as soon as possible. You know that no obstacle will arise from the chiefs of the military detachments to the execution of this project. It is absolutely necessary to have at Pissoder some one in a position to keep up the good relations which we have established with the chiefs of military detachments, and obtain for us, not only their absolute neutrality, but even their protection in the eventuality of an attack by a Bulgarian band. In the village of Pissoder we have a flour depot certified to belong to the boarding school. We shall establish a depot at Florina also. We have given orders to have you provisioned with flour and all sorts of victuals at the first asking.

Conformably to your proposal, we have *inscribed in the list of paid men the names of the officers whom you designate*. We have sent you the money asked for, and I hope you have received it.

Here is how we have arranged the Bouf affair. On the road from Bouf to Armensko and to Vigla a certain number of travellers coming from Bouf will be stopped and taken into the mountains. They will not be harmed, but to have them set at liberty the villagers will be invited to embrace Orthodoxy. They will obey doubtless, for fear of having their relatives murdered. In case of disobedience the hostages will of course be killed. *We have for all this the consent of the officer whom you know.*

Send us as soon as possible the emolument promised to the same officer, so that we may be at ease about the execution of the four peasants of Verbenishta by Captain Lashi. According to our information *the officer commanding the garrison at Pissoder is sixty years old; he is our friend; he must be paid without stinginess*. Give me instructions as usual. All our attention should be concentrated on the necessity of becoming the absolute masters of the mountains of Peristeri; we shall do it under good conditions, supported by our understanding with the civil and military authorities of that district.

I pray you to tell me in time of any new resolution.

Fraternally yours,

COSTAS KENTROS.



## IV. THE AGENTS OF HELLENISM

With the purpose of exciting the hate of the Greeks against the Bulgarians, the consulate of Greece at Adrianople is distributing in the vilayet Greek newspapers which publish appeals against the Bulgarians, and picture postcards calculated to excite the fanaticism of the Patriarchists: this without the least interference from the authorities.

Here, for example, is what one of those papers distributed by the consulate of Greece, the *Makedonikos-Kirks*, published at *Volo*, said in its No. 17 of the 17th October 1904, a number widely circulated throughout Adrianople.

After having said that the reforms of Muerzsteg are the only obstacle to Turkey's extermination of the "Bulgarian bandits," and after having mourned the fate of eight hundred thousand Greeks left to the mercy of the "greatest assassins and bandits"—the Bulgarians—it says:

Let us put aside prayers and overtures; all our energy should be concentrated on vengeance; blood must be shed. Thus we shall aid Turkey, whose great desire is to exterminate all these scoundrels of Bulgarians.

Further on in its article it says:

We should take active measures to bring into action the young energies at our disposal in Macedonia. More than fifty persons of one town have gone into Thessaly with the purpose of finding the necessary means of taking vengeance, on their return, on the assassins of their brothers.

The numerous applications made against the seditious propaganda of the Greek consulate of Adrianople have given no further results than to have removed from the windows and cases of bookshops the postcards with a portrait of the Greek officer Melas, killed in Macedonia, and bearing the inscription "Leave not a single Bulgarian alive!" This measure, however, was only respected for some days, after which the postcards were again displayed to the attention of the public.

The Greek newspaper of Salonica, *Alithia*, published in its 205th number a speech which the Greek consul of

Adrianople, M. P. Skassi, made at Kirk-Klissé. The journalist who reports the speech describes at the same time the impression it made on the audience. Here are some of the passages of this speech which are entirely characteristic :

M. Skassi, speaking of the Philharmonic Society, in whose hall the ceremony took place, added with particular emphasis that "the Society prospers and will prosper, for it is the best institution to defend us against the miscreant bands who, like packs of bloodthirsty wolves, attack pitilessly and shamelessly the flocks of God."<sup>1</sup> Oh reader, if you had laid your hand on the hearts of his hearers, it would have been burned by the heat of the feelings of profound gratitude which animated them, of the feelings of love towards the Fatherland and gratitude to His Imperial Majesty the Sultan, our loving lord, under whose rule we live and are happy. I was in my corner, continues the reporter, and I thought of all the bitterness and trials endured by our compatriots, all because they have tried to be faithful to their nation and to His Imperial Majesty the Sultan.

On the 4th May, 1905, after the encounter of a Greek band with the troops, in which the secretary of the band was killed, a letter addressed by the chief of the band to the Consul-General of Greece at Salonica, M. Koromilas, was found among the papers seized. This letter reported to the consul, with many details, the doings and intentions of the band. The encounter of the band with the troops took place in the monastery of St. Athanasius, near the village of *Vassiliko*, caza of Salonica.

On the 10th May M. Stornaris, consul of Greece at Serres, handed over to the Ottoman authorities a dynamite cartridge which a Greek was said to have found near the mosque of Eskidjami, placed there by Bulgarians who fled at his approach.

The cartridge, when examined, proved to be not one of

<sup>1</sup> The above was published with the authorisation of the censor of Salonica—the same censor who does not permit the Bulgarians to publish the most innocent things. Since we are speaking of Adrianople, we may add that the same authorities who allow the Greek consul to deliver speeches of this kind in every corner of the vilayet, do not suffer the commercial agent of Bulgaria to leave the town.

the kind used by the insurgents, but one of those commonly used in fishing. This discovery prevented searches being made in the houses of the Bulgarians—searches which are always accompanied by thefts and illegal arrests. On the other hand, searches made some days later in the houses of Greeks of Serres brought about the discovery of a large quantity of similar dynamite cartridges.

On the 19th August the Greek Bishop of Melnik, accompanied by fifty Vlach Patriarchists and supported by an Ottoman force (a lieutenant and twenty soldiers), went to the Bulgarian village of *Ernikeuy*, which had recognised the jurisdiction of the Exarchate, and surrounded the church. The Vlach Petré Palamardji Makinadjî burst in the door of the church, and the Greek bishop celebrated the Mass. At the end of the ceremony, he found a Greek epitrope and delivered to him the key of the new lock which he had caused to be put on the door of the church, after which he left the village. Meanwhile, the Turkish officer had summoned the notables of the village and had threatened them with prison if they presumed to reoccupy the church.

On the 20th August, about seven o'clock in the evening, the Greek Kani Deroſſ was killed at *Vodena* by a revolver-shot from one Michael Cotzoff. A profound enmity reigned between these two men, and this crime had nothing to do with politics. Nevertheless, next day, on the application of the Greek bishop, the whole Bulgarian quarter was surrounded. The bishop, accompanied by several Greek sympathisers and a large number of police agents, put at his disposal by the Ottoman authorities, caused searches to be made in all the houses, under pretext of looking for the murderer. The Bulgarians were threatened by the bishop with the worst reprisals. A number of them were maltreated, and a yusbashi caused the young wife of Panko Tufektchi to be stripped naked in the presence of the bishop. The murderer not having been found, his brother and his employer were arrested in his place.

The kavass of the Greek bishopric of *Drama* was arrested on the 1st September while he was conveying accoutrements ordered by the metropolitan and destined for the Greek bands. Among the objects seized were forty cartridge-belts.

On the 29th August, 1905, a Greek band, numbering a hundred and fifty men, fell in with a squad of ten Turkish soldiers. The band fled. This happened in the neighbourhood of *Grebena*. In their flight the bandits dropped several bags. In one of these a large number of letters was found, and the cipher used by the Greek bishop in his correspondence with the bands. Now, some days before, there had been found, in a search made in the house of a Greek at *Grebena*, a letter in cipher, whose contents remained unknown. It was therefore possible to read this letter, as well as another letter, found in one of the bags, written by the committee at Athens, and addressed to the chiefs of bands. This letter stated that the Bishop of Monastir was named chief of the first revolutionary section—that of Monastir—and that the Greek Bishop of *Grebena* was named chief of the second section, called the Epiro-Thessalian.

A Greek band on the 29th September, 1905, forced the peasants of the village of *Rulia*, caza of Kastoria, to sign a petition to the Greek Bishop of Kastoria, in which they declared that they had renounced the Exarchate. Some peasants were chosen to carry this declaration to the bishop's palace. After having seen the bishop, they were summoned by the *caïmacan*, who asked them: "Why now do you turn Greeks when you are Bulgarians?" To this they replied: "If you come and threaten and force us, we shall turn Turks, and that only to save the village." Two days after the same Greek band arrived at the village, and pitilessly beat the audacious delegates and violated some women, after which they departed. It is very easy to understand the reasons of the band for committing those acts of violence on villages which had already recognised the Patriarchate, as

it is easy to understand how the band heard of the declaration made by the peasants to the ear of the caïmacan alone.

The Greek Archbishop of Florina, accompanied by several bandits and some Greek school-teachers, made, on the 4th October, a circuit of the Vlach communities of the *Meglen*, and caused the devastation of all the Vlach churches; the liturgical books and the sacerdotal ornaments and vestments were destroyed.

The Greek Bishop of Vodena went, on the 7th October, to the commune of *Tchernashka*; he was accompanied by a Turkish captain and his company. He caused the church of the village to be surrounded by soldiers, entered it by breaking in the door, and officiated in it, in spite of the opposition of the priests and of the epitropes, whom he threatened with death. On leaving, the Greek bishop possessed himself of the contents of the church safe, about £12. Then he went to the Vlach school, had the fittings smashed, and departed, carrying away the key.

On the 8th November, 1905, on the occasion of the feast of St. Archangel, the specially appointed preacher before the Greek Bishop of Serres, the priest Stephan, preached a sermon against the Bulgarians in the Greek Church of St. Archangel, before a congregation of the faithful. He wound up by declaring that every Greek who succeeded in avenging the Greeks on the enemy the Bulgarians would be a saint. The authorities took no measure against those open incitements to riot and murder.

In the beginning of the month of December 1905, the villages of *Tcherno-Porinovo* and *Pod*, каза of Vodena, were forced by Greek bands to recognise the Patriarchate. The petition, prepared to that effect by the Greek Bishop of Vodena and given to the band, was sent to the bishop's palace, after it had been signed. In this way the petition reached the caïmacan through the intermediary of the bishop, and without the knowledge of the peasants.

The authorities seized at the Greek bishop's palace at Florina, in the course of a search in the room of the kavass, a Turkish uniform covered with blood, which had been worn in the Turko-Greek massacre of Kladorabi.

On the 23rd December the police arrested at Monastir, when he was coming out of the Greek archbishop's palace, one Luka Anastassof, a native of Monastir, who was found carrying twelve revolvers and two bombs. His examination revealed that these arms and machines were destined for a Greek band which was preparing to strike a blow at some Bulgarian notables.

The population of the Bulgarian village of *Kulukovo*, caza of Zihna, having recognised the Bulgarian Exarchate, the Bishop of Drama appealed to the Ottoman military authorities to perform an act of vengeance on the Bulgarian priest, by name Ivan, of this village. On the 19th January last two gendarmes arrived at the Bulgarian church and ordered the priest to follow them. The priest, an old man of eighty-four, asked them to defer his arrest, as the next day was a feast and the day after was Sunday; he had a duty therefore to his congregation. In spite of this plea, the old man was forcibly dragged to the palace of the Greek Bishop of Drama.

When he had his victim in his power, the bishop caused him to be shut up in a room and tortured, and then, on leaving, declared to the priest that he would be killed if he did not become a Patriarchist. The priest having refused, the bishop entered his room about the middle of the night, accompanied by his deacon, the kavass of the bishopric, and two of his creatures. He then renewed his order to the priest to recognise the Patriarchate, telling him he would be at once killed if he refused. The priest remained unshaken. The bishop then caused his hair and beard to be shaved off, and his cassock removed. The priest remained in this state shut up in the bishopric till the next day. He was afterwards taken to the governor's *konak*. The inhabitants of the village of Kulukovo came to claim their priest; he was set

at liberty. Their indignation was indescribable when they learned the sacrilegious outrage of which their venerated priest had been the victim.

The Bulgarian Bortcho Milusheff, of the village of *Christos*, had been threatened with death if he did not renounce the Exarchate. He informed the authorities; no measure was taken. On the 1st February, towards evening, a party of bandits in the pay of the Greek committee of Serres made for his house in the village of *Christos*, and one of them knocked at his door. Bortcho Milusheff opened the door and at once received several shots and stabs from yataghans, which killed him. The assassins, the deed done, retired. Then several Bulgarian peasants started in pursuit of them and overtook them at the village of *Kavakli*, at half an hour from Serres. The bandits, nevertheless, managed to get to Serres, and *take refuge in the Greek consulate*. The police, unable to refuse to act, arrested them as they came out of the consulate.

A certain Kostandinou, assumed name "Grigorias," a Greek subject of Patras, was arrested at Vodena in the autumn of 1905. A search made in his house resulted in the seizure of papers establishing that he had been sent from Athens with the mission of forming Greek bands in the cazas of Vodena and Karaferia, to act against the Bulgarians. Two of these letters were specially characteristic: "Grigorias" stated in them that he had arrived safe and sound, and had begun the difficult but holy mission confided to him—that of forming bands called to the work of suppressing the Bulgarians who defile Macedonia, the glorious home of Hellenism. Grigorias described himself as happy in the lot which had fallen to him, for he was summoned to be the guide of a hundred and twenty villages in the fight against the Bulgarians, of whom he had succeeded in killing forty in a single encounter in which he himself received eight wounds! Grigorias finished with a request to his friends of Athens to address letters to him *through the medium of the Consulate-General of Greece, at Salonica, where the place of his dwelling*

*was known.* Examined by the tribunal of Salonica, on the 4th April, Grigorias acknowledged that he was the author of these letters, but, to justify himself, added that they contained nothing but nonsense. Before the examining magistrate Grigorias declared that he knew personally the mudir of *Ostrovó* and several officers of *Vodena*, *Ostrovó*, and *Niaousta*, whose names he gave. The tribunal adjourned the case.

The Greek Bishop of Kastoria arrived unexpectedly one morning of the month of March in the Bulgarian village of *Gorno-Kumanitchevo*, caza of Kastoria, and, in spite of the protests of the Bulgarian Exarchist priest and of the inhabitants, officiated in the Bulgarian church. The bishop on leaving said to the inhabitants that if they did not accept the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate great calamities would befall them.

On the 7th March a Greek band, a hundred strong, entered the village of *Gorno-Kumanitchevo*. The bandits went at once to the houses of the Bulgarian notables Philip Gheorghieff, Guello Konukoff, Pope Athanas, Stavro Pope Vasileff, Nasso Mitchoff, and Christo Antonoff, set fire to them, and then systematically looted the village, carrying off everything portable, and burning before they left whatever they were obliged to leave behind. The Bulgarian priest P. Kuroff was robbed of £T40.

The Bulgarian priest Athanas, of the village of *Kulata*, caza of Serres, having recognised the jurisdiction of the Exarchate two years before, received a great number of threatening letters. The Greek consul at Serres summoned him at the beginning of last February and exhorted him to return to the Patriarchate, warning him that if he refused calamity would befall him.

In fact, on the 6th March, a Greek band gained entrance to the village of *Kulata*, reached the house of the priest and tried to enter it. Not succeeding, they set fire to it. The poor priest gave the alarm when the house was already in flames.



Nicolas Tchokharoff, Bulgarian, native of *Staritchani*, caza of Kastoria, wishing to withdraw a security of a thousand drachmas deposited with a Greek of Lamia (Greece), presented himself on the 30th May at the Greek consulate at Monastir to have the Governor-General's signature authenticated. Instead of proceeding to the pure and simple authentication demanded, the two functionaries of the Greek consulate subjected Nicolas Tchokharoff to an examination—which lasted no less than two hours—about his antecedents, his trade, his nationality, his family. In the end they called him a traitor who had sold himself, and accused him of being the chief of a Bulgarian band. The functionaries finally refused to legalise the document and notified Tchokharoff that he must declare himself a Patriarchist within ten days and bring his fellow-citizens to do the like. In the contrary case he would never see his thousand drachmas, nor his son Pavlo, a miller in Greece; he himself would be killed and the village burned.

The Bulgarian notable Vassil Nicoloff, of *Deli-Hassan*, caza of Serres, was killed, on the 7th July, in his shop, by five Greeks. Two of the assassins, Steni and Christo Ouzoun-Toko, are the sons of the only Greek residing in the village of Deli-Hassan. These two men, as well as their acolytes, are boarders at the Greek convent of St. George. The murder which they committed was instigated by the superior of the convent.

## V. ISOLATED CRIMES

On the 14th March, 1905, a Greek, Lazar Pampourdjieff, fired four revolver-shots at Dr. Vladoff, a Bulgarian physician, at *Monastir*, without hitting him. Some police agents looked on at this scene, never dreaming of intervening. They were careful to let the criminals escape.

On the 16th of the same month, also at *Monastir*, a well-known Bulgarian, M. Danail Rizoff, was very severely wounded by an assassin in the pay of the Greeks. It was

nine o'clock in the morning. M. Rizoff was going to business, accompanied by two Greeks, when he received two revolver-bullets full in the body. As he was being carried home, it was noticed that the Greek women stood at their windows and sneered, insulting the wounded man.

A young girl, Villa Nicoleva, of the village of *Krupishta*, caza of Kastoria, was warned by three Greeks that she would be killed if she continued to go to the Bulgarian school. Having taken no notice of this threat, the young girl was mortally wounded, during the month of March 1905, by a pistol-shot while dining at home. Before expiring she was able to tell the authorities the names of the persons who had threatened her. No prosecution was made of those individuals.

A well-known notable of the village of Surovitchevo, Misho Mitzoff, who had gone to *Salonica* on business, was severely stabbed with a poisoned dagger by some Greeks in a café of that town. The police of Salonica, who usually shadowed the victim, had made a point of leaving him free and quite unguarded on the day of the crime.

On the 8th April a Greek fired, at *Monastir*, at the Bulgarian - Lazar Gheorghieff, as the latter was going to church.

On the next day, 9th April, another Greek tried to kill the dragoman of the commercial agency of Bulgaria at Monastir, Naoum Christoff. He went up to him and fired a pistol at him point-blank. Happily it was a bad weapon and missed fire.

On the 11th May the Bulgarian professor Eftim Nacoff was taking his coffee in front of his house with his wife and his brother-in-law Nicoff, when two Greeks, after talking for some time with the watchman of the quarter, drew their revolvers and fired several shots at the teacher and his wife, who were slightly wounded. Then they retired unmolested, the watchman not interfering. The police, when informed of what had happened, did not examine the watchman and opened no inquiry.

The priest of *Enidje-Vardar*, Gotzé Stottcheff, who had gone in the month of June 1905 to the village of Kirka, was attacked on his return by some Greeks who, having shot at and wounded him, finished him off with poignards. The assassins, although known to the police, were not molested.

The reverend Father Madjaroff, president of the Bulgarian community of *Emboré*, caza of Kailar, received, on the 23rd June, two shots which stretched him dead on the spot while dining in his room, which is situated on the ground floor. The shots were fired through the windows. The assassins were recognised and described to the police. They were two Greeks, but neither of them was arrested.

On the 15th September the agents of the Greek committee wounded at Monastir the Bulgarians Dimé Apostoloff, of Baïr-Mahalé, and Goshé Ogenoff, of Brusnik.

On the 7th November, 1905, at half-past nine in the morning, Pascal Gortchiloff, teacher at the Bulgarian school of *Serres*, was going to his school, when, near the Greek bishop's palace, one Leonta, a photographer, a servant of the Greek committees, who was lying in ambush, rushed out on him and fired two revolver-shots at him. Mr. Gortchiloff was wounded in the left arm. The police, in face of the undeniable crime, had to arrest the author of this attempted assassination, but proceeded at the same time to arrest Vladimir Blagoeff and Ivan Antonoff, teachers at the Bulgarian school at *Serres*. Mr. Tilkoff, secretary of the Bulgarian community, was also arrested. The minute searches made at the houses of these three Bulgarians gave no result; nevertheless, the prisoners were not released till next day, when the murderer Leonta was also set at liberty. It must be added in this connection that the police refused to examine the witnesses of the outrage, although they were ready to be called.

On the 8th November, at eight o'clock in the evening, the Greek Kostaki Nikolas Nouscali, a servant of the Greek committee of *Serres*, tried to assassinate Mr. Tcholtcheff, dragoman, and director of the commercial agency in Bulgaria, in the following circumstances. He presented himself at the

Bulgarian commercial agency, accompanied by the night policeman Osman, whom he had persuaded he was a police agent. He knocked at the door of the agency, and the kavass Ramiz went to answer his knock; but the door had hardly turned on its hinges when he rushed, dagger in hand, on the kavass, and stabbed him, but only tore the sleeve of his coat. Then he rushed into the house to kill Mr. Tcholtcheff. The kavass managed to overtake and stun the assassin, and went to inform the police of what had happened. On the road a revolver-shot was fired at him without hitting him.

On the 3rd November, 1905, M. Christo Vulkanoff, a teacher at the Bulgarian college of Monastir, was shot by Greek agents.

Christo Dimitroff Obeff, churchwarden of the Bulgarian church of the village of *Vladovo*, caza of Vodena, was assassinated on the 10th November by two members of the Greek committee named Gheorghi Keshish and Dimo Tchampur. The authorities when informed of this murder took no steps to arrest the murderers.

The Bulgarian village of *Homondos*, of the caza of Serres, is Patriarchist, but the inhabitants have shown on several occasions their desire to go over to the Exarchate. The Bulgarian priest, Peter Veloff, having been pointed out to the Greek revolutionary committee of Serres as one of the leading spirits in the movement, was assassinated on the 14th November by order of the committee.

The Greek priest Evangel, of *Gorno-Brodi*, caza of Serres, on coming out of the Greek archbishop's palace on the 30th November, was shot with a pistol by a person unknown. The shot was certainly aimed by the Greeks, for the priest Evangel was inclining to go over to the Exarchate. Proceedings were nevertheless taken against the Bulgarians. The first arrest was that of the Bulgarian teacher, Christo Botusheff.

The village of Gorno-Brodi, except for about five houses has only Bulgarian inhabitants.

The Bulgarian priest Panatot Kiroff, of the village of *Kumanitch*, caza of Nevrocop, was attacked on the 30th November by two Greeks of the committee. These bandits stole his purse and his shoes, after which they threatened him with death if he did not recognise the authority of the Patriarchate in a short time.

During the month of December 1905, Ivan Philipoff, of the village of *Orchovets*, was severely wounded with a dagger by an agent of the Greek committee. It was at Serres itself and in broad daylight that this outrage took place.

The people of *Gumendje* had addressed a request to the Inspector-General Hilmi Pasha imploring him to forbid some strangers known to be creatures of the Greek committee to stay in the town. The authorities took no steps. Among those suspected strangers was one Cotcho, a native of Melnik, who, to disguise his manoeuvres, had opened a hairdresser's shop. This man wounded on the 3rd December, in broad daylight, the Bulgarian Hadji Tano Zapiroff, a very rich and influential man. The wounded man and several persons who passed at the moment of the attack recognised the aggressor. The police looked for him, but too late.

The Bulgarian Samardjieff, bookseller at Salonica, having opened a branch shop at *Carea*, Mount Athos, went there in January last. Some Greek fanatics tried to assassinate him. One of them suddenly opened the door of his room and fired at him several revolver-shots. The bookseller escaped with only his hair burnt. The police took no steps to find the aggressor.

The same month two Bulgarians, poulterers, were assassinated by the men of a Greek band on the road leading from Salonica to the village of *Baldja*. The victims were Anghel Gatchoff and Athanas Dinar, of the village of Gorno-Todoré.

On the day of the Orthodox Epiphany 1906 the Bulgarian priest of Vodena went to the village of *Messimer* to officiate at the Bulgarian church. The Mass over, the priest went

out in the company of many of the congregation. At the door of the church stood several Greeks of the committee. One of them fired a revolver in the direction of the priest. There was a general stampede. Some brave men remained, however, at the priest's side. The latter then appealed to the soldiers charged with maintaining order and asked them to arrest the armed Greek ; they did nothing. A complaint was addressed to the calmacan of Vodená, but the soldiers were not even reprimanded.

On the 20th February one Vanghel Gheorghieff—a man of the Greek committee of Serres—an inhabitant of the village of Zyrnovó, caza of Nevrocop, fired several revolver-shots at the Bulgarian bookseller Athanas Nicoff. The latter was happily not wounded.

The aggressor, Vanghel Gheorghieff, escaped the arm of the law, the police, in order to give him time to flee, having occupied themselves first of all with arresting the victim, whom they took to the konak to be examined.

The emissaries of the Greek committee had already made an attempt on the life of Nicoff in January, and had wounded him. In the month of October 1906 Nicoff was killed at Serres itself by six agents of the committee, who murdered his brother and his nephew on the same occasion.

A Bulgarian priest named Mikhaíl, and his brother-in-law, a monk in a Bulgarian convent of Mount Athos, were at *Monastir*. On the 25th February the two relatives went together to the Bulgarian church of this town, when they were attacked by some terrorists of the Greek committee. The priest Mikhaíl was severely wounded. This attack in the open street, near the Bulgarian church, drew a great many Bulgarians, and the latter went to the assistance of the men attacked. The police, instead of prosecuting the assassins, arrested the wounded monk. They had to set him at liberty two days later.

On the 7th March two Bulgarians, Athanas Ghyrneff and Stoian Angheloff, cotton merchants, natives of the village of Libiahovo, caza of Nevrocop, were assailed in broad

daylight, at three-quarters of an hour's walk from *Kup-Keuy*, and stabbed to death.

On the 9th of the same month two Greeks tried to assassinate the Bulgarian Alexandre Tchonoff, of the village of *Plevnia*, caza of Kastoria. The two aggressors were arrested, but the authorities released them next day.

At the same date several Bulgarians were killed at *Olishta*, *Galishta*, and *Doleni*, of the same caza.

On the 12th March some men of the Greek committee of *Gumendjé* attacked in the neighbourhood of this town the Bulgarian Ivan Papayanoff, who was returning from his mill. At the very moment of the attack some soldiers were passing along the road; they arrested the assailants and had them incarcerated at Gumendjé. Two days later these bandits departed for Salonica without molestation.

The Bulgarian Dimitre Apostoloff, of the village of *Tchutchuligovo*, caza of Serres, had been threatened with death on different occasions by three Greeks, named Sandro Christo, Mia Apostol, and Bojik Apostol, influential members of the Greek committee. Dimitri Apostoloff had informed the police, but no steps were taken. On the evening of the 13th March the three Greeks put their threat into execution by assassinating Apostoloff.

The next day the Bulgarian Mitrush Karakefti, a native of the caza of Kastoria, and an inhabitant for a long time of the village of *Egri-Détré*, caza of Zihna, was assassinated by some individuals in the service of the Greek committee of Zihna. The unfortunate man was killed when entering the village. The assassins, although well known, were not arrested.

Two days later, on the 16th March, some men in the pay of the Greek committee of *Ghevgheli* attacked in broad daylight the Bulgarian Tanco Boikoff while he was working in his garden. The unfortunate man was killed on the spot, as ad been foretold him in threatening letters.

In the beginning of 1906 the Bulgarian notable Ivan Mirtcheff was warned by letters from the Greek committee of

Monastir that if he did not renounce the Exarchate calamity would befall him. Mirtcheff informed the police and went to see the vali. The latter reassured him, but no steps were taken for his defence. On the 17th March several Greeks attacked Ivan Mirtcheff in broad daylight in the largest street of *Monastir*. The unfortunate man received three revolver-shots, and fell dead on the spot. It must be noted that some days before the crime the police seized the revolver which Mirtcheff carried for his defence, so that the assassins knew they had nothing to fear from him when they attacked him. The murderers, although known to the police, were not arrested.

On the same day other individuals in the pay of the Greek committee of Monastir fired several revolver-shots at the Bulgarian notable Gheorghi ; happily the latter was only slightly wounded. The outrage took place in the principal street. The assassins, having done the deed, went and hid in the house of the Greek doctor Vafiades. The police contented themselves with surrounding this house.

The Bulgarian tailor Athanas Angheloff Tondoff, native of the village of Startchishta, caza of Nevrocop, went on the 19th March, 1906, to the village of *Kalapot*, caza of Zihna, to work ; he disappeared from that day. On the 31st March some peasants found his corpse pierced all over with dagger-stabs.

The Bulgarian Nicolas Sokutcheff, native of Keuprulu, and an inhabitant for many years past of the Greek village of *Radolios*, caza of Drama, where, with his brother, he kept a provision shop and café, was assassinated in March in front of the door of his house with a dagger by the schoolmaster of the village of *Radolios* and two other men.

On the 27th March two individuals in the service of the Greek committee of Salonica assailed, near the village of *Osman-Keuy*, the Bulgarian Apostol Gheorghieff, aged eighteen. The unfortunate lad received fourteen dagger-stabs. The victim, before being attacked, had noticed that his aggressors were talking with several Greeks, whom he



described. No steps were taken for the arrest of the assassins.

On the 12th April some Greeks in the pay of the committee of *Gumendjé* seized Dimitri Karageorghieff, a child of twelve, and murdered him. His corpse was found pierced by several dagger-stabs.

The same individuals, on the 12th April also, set fire to a mill belonging to the Bulgarian Dino Hadji Gheorghieff. The wretched man, some days before, had been threatened with death if he did not recognise the Patriarchate.

On the 28th April the Greek subject Iltcho, established as a coffee-house keeper at *Gumendjé*, vilayet of Salonica, a servant of the Greek committee, fired several shots at the Bulgarian Mino Iconomoff, who was wounded.

On the night of the 7th May a Greek band assassinated, in the village of *Tekelievo*, caza of Salonica, the Bulgarian Kiro Nenoff. This assassination was a punishment by the Greek revolutionary committee of Salonica, Kiro Nenoff having been the only one of his village, at the time of the last census, who did not let himself be intimidated by the threats of the Greeks, and who refused to allow himself to be entered as a Greek.

On the 15th May Costa Valevitchara was killed near the village of *Maniak*, caza of Kastoria, by the men of a Greek band.

On the 19th May Naoum Doreff, of the village of *Staritchani*, was assassinated by a Greek *comitadjis*, who, although known, was not arrested.

Constantin Mitreff, of the village of *Kovanetz*, caza of Ghevgheli, was assassinated on the 21st May near this village by Greek *comitadjis*; a friend who accompanied him, Dimtché Ganef, was severely wounded.

On the 27th May Christo Madjaroff, of the village of *Bayaltzi*, caza of Ghevgheli, was killed by Greeks.

On the 2nd June four Bulgarian notables were assassinated at *Monastir*, almost at the same hour, on a decision of the Greek committee.

The notable and trader Lazo Atzeff Zelkat was the first killed. The murder was committed in broad daylight in the most populous street of Monastir, Chirok-Sokak. The assassin was caught by passers-by.

Then it was the turn of Vassil Tufektchieff, an important member of the Bulgarian community of Monastir. He was poignarded in his workshop, from behind, while he was engaged on the plan of a machine. The assassins were not arrested.

The other Bulgarians assassinated on the same day by the agents of the same committee were the traders Spiro Brashnaroff and Lazare Dogramadjieff.

On the 2nd June Mitré Paparoff, of the village of *Boinitza*, caza of Ghevgheli, was killed in his field by servants of the Greek revolutionary committee.

On the 7th June, near the village of *Tekelievo*, at some distance from Salonica, the Bulgarian Anghel Saramorlieff was killed by Greek *comitadjis* while working in his field.

On the 8th June, close to Salonica, a Greek band attacked some Bulgarian labourers who were working in the tchiflik of a Turk called Hamdi Bey. One of the workmen was killed on the spot; the second, although severely wounded, managed to escape.

On the 14th June, about evening, some servants of the Greek revolutionary committee assassinated the Bulgarian Mikhaïl Voltcheff, mukhtar of the Bulgarian village of *Frashtani*, caza of Serres.

On the 16th June, the men of a Greek band assassinated four Bulgarians near the village of *Shikot*, vilayet of Salonica.

The same day, about half-past eleven o'clock in the morning, the Bulgarian Gono Storloff, of the village of *Petrovo*, caza of Enidjé-Vardar, was killed by the men of a Greek band as he was coming off a raft on the banks of the Vardar.

On the 22nd June the Bulgarian Zaharia, of the village of *Libavo*, caza of Enidjé-Vardar, was assassinated by Greek

antarthes of Gumendjé. The bandits literally riddled the body of their victim with dagger-stabs.

On the 22nd June the Bulgarian Zahari, of the village of *Libavo*, was killed by the men of a Greek band.

On the 25th June, about nine o'clock in the morning, three Greeks of the revolutionary committee of Serres tried to assassinate the Bulgarian Milenko Paskoff, of the village of *Dolno-Frashtani*, by firing several revolver-shots at him. Paskoff was severely wounded in the hand.

On the 27th June the antarthes poignarded to death the Bulgarian Stoitché Mitreff near the village of *Liaskovo*, caza of Ghevgheli.

On the 28th June the servants of the Greek committee of Serres assassinated the Bulgarians Athanas Minkoff and Gheorghi Nicolaëff, near the village of *Kutchos*.

On the 28th June the Bulgarian Ivan Velinoff, of the village of *Shugovo*, caza of Demir-Hissar, was killed by an antarthe.

On the same day the priest Nicolas Dimitroff, of the village of *Hadji-Begliik*, caza of Demir-Hissar, was murdered in his mill by antarthes.

On the 29th June the Bulgarian Philip Filzoff and a child of fifteen who accompanied him were killed in the great forest of Monastir by a Greek band.

On the 30th June the Bulgarian Mitré Bojinoff was shot dead near the village of *Liaskovo*, caza of Ghevgheli, by a man belonging to a Greek band.

On the 5th July the Greek revolutionary committee of Salonica caused the assassination, between the villages of *Tchataldja* and *Edirndjik*, caza of Drama, of the Bulgarians Constantin Dimitroff, of the village of Ralapot, caza of Zihna ; and on the 7th July, at *Kavalla*, of the Bulgarian milkman Athanas Roshkoff, of the village of Banitz, caza of Serres.

On the 8th July the Bulgarians Gregor Ivanoff and Vassil Lazaroff, of the village of *Tchutchuligovo*, caza of Serres, were attacked with revolvers, on the road to Serres, by the Greeks Gheorghi Hadji-Dinoff and Dionis Oudoul-

Ghenghieff, of the village of Prossenik, same caza. Ivanoff was mortally wounded.

On the 8th July the men of the Greek revolutionary committee of Serres assassinated a pupil of the Bulgarian school.

The Bulgarian priest Traitché, of *Pessoshnitsa*, caza of Florina, was severely wounded on the 12th July by the men of a Greek band while he was going to the church to officiate.

Four Greek antarthes assassinated at *Kavalla*, on the 20th July, the Bulgarian notable Nicolas Karamanoff, a native of the village of Gorno-Brodi, who lived at Serres.

On the 20th July the Bulgarian Ivan, an inhabitant of the village of Katranitza, was killed by a shot fired in the village of *Vrega*, caza of Enidjé-Vardar, by the men of a Greek band.

On the 24th July a Bulgarian woman of the village of *Malovishta*, caza of Monastir, was assassinated by some Greeks in a field where she was working.

The same day a Bulgarian peasant was killed by the men of a Greek band near the village of *Brecovo*, not far from Orehovo. His corpse, subsequently discovered, had been decapitated, and the trunk had been cut in pieces.

Four other Bulgarian peasants of the same village disappeared on that day.

On the 7th August some Greeks affiliated to the Hellenic committee of Salonica tried to assassinate the Bulgarian doctor of Vodena, M. Nicoloff, and the dragoman of the Bulgarian agency, M. Thodoroff, while they were walking on the quay at *Salonica* among the crowd. The assassins used a blunderbuss carrying several balls. The dragoman was not hit, but the doctor Nicoloff received five bullets in the back. He was ill for a long time. The assassins escaped without encountering police agents on their road.

Christo Hadjieff, inhabiting the village of *Krontselevo*, was killed on the 16th August, 1906, at a short distance from his village by a Greek band.

On the 19th August, at a short distance from the town

of *Vodena*, was found the corpse of the Bulgarian Kotcho Yovtcheff, inhabitant of *Vodena*, aged fifty. The unfortunate man had been assassinated the night before by a Greek band which was infesting the neighbourhood, and whose haunts were well known to the authorities. The corpse had been rifled.

The Bulgarian Ivan Nikoff, aged sixty, was killed in the month of August by antarthes, at a short distance from the village of *Petrovo*, caza of Enidjé-Vardar. The Ottoman authorities took no steps to arrest the assassins.

The Bulgarian Stoian Thodoroff was killed by some Greek bandits at a quarter of an hour's walk from the village of *Eleshnitsa*, caza of Demir-Hissar.

On the 12th August the men of a Greek band which infests the caza of Florina assassinated the priest Vassili, of the village of *Zelenitché*.

A Greek band attacked, on the 22nd August, at Mount Athos, the Bulgarian trader Veltcho Bakalinoff, of the village of *Gorno-Brodi*. The assassins, after having wounded him with three shots, went off, leaving him for dead.

Gheorghi Marcoff and Jantcho Bekiaroff, notables of the Bulgarian village of *Plevna*, caza of Drama, had been threatened with death by the Greek committee if they did not recognise the authority of the Patriarchate. As they had not obeyed, the Albanian Hassan, hired by the Greek committee, attacked them on the 17th August, as they were taking a meal in the fields, killed Bekiaroff, and severely wounded Marcoff. An English officer of Drama went to the spot and verified the facts.

Two weeks later, on the 31st August, a Greek band captured another notable of the same village of *Plevna*, André Mutchkine, and murdered him on the Golena-Kutra mountain.

## E.—THE ACTION OF THE SERVIANS

THE president of the Bulgarian community of *Kumanovo*, the priest Alexander Zaharieff, was assassinated in that town, on the 28th February, 1905, by two Albanians in the hire of the Servian committees. The priest Zaharieff had been warned by the Servians, some time before the murder, that he would be killed if he continued to resist their propaganda.

The schoolmaster Slaveïco Gefamaticoff and a notable of the village of *Mlado-Nagoritchino* were killed by a Servian band some time before the murder of the priest Zaharieff.

On the 16th March, 1905, a Servian band entered for the third time the village of *Mlado-Nagoritchani* and threatened the inhabitants with massacre if they did not deny the Exarchate. At the end of their patience, the villagers made a formal complaint against the machinations of this band, and the sub-prefect of Kumanovo found himself obliged to send a detachment of troops. The band left the village unmolested, under the eyes of the soldiers, who, instead of pursuing them, began to beat the complainants. They arrested and drove, with the butt-ends of their rifles, to Kumanovo, seven persons accused of having repulsed the band by arms.

On the 16th September, 1905, the Bulgarian inhabitants of the village of *Koïntzé*, caza of Kumanovo, went to the chief town of the caza to ask the military authorities to protect them against the Servian bands. They produced threatening letters from the chiefs of these bands, in which it was written that, unless the inhabitants of Koïntzé declared themselves Servians within three weeks, the whole village

would be burned. The authorities ordered the villagers back to their village, and nothing was done for their protection.

A strong Servian band reached, on the 14th August, 1905, the village of *Dupeni*, caza of Kitchevo, firing on all the Bulgarian peasants they met. The alarm having been given to the villagers, the latter, who happened for once to have arms, showed fight. A woman, Anna Mitzkova, was killed, several men were wounded. Finally the band was repulsed. On leaving it took with it fifty sheep, some oxen, and three asses.

The band returned to the village with reinforcements four days later and informed the inhabitants of *Dupeni*, *Raboteni*, and *Sveto-Ratché* that unless they renounced the Exarchate and recognised the Patriarchate, all would be massacred without distinction of age and sex.

The inhabitants of all these villages, finding no protection from the authorities, fled to the neighbouring villages and to Kitchevo.

A Turko-Servian band having encountered in the forest, in the beginning of November 1905, the Bulgarian Ilo Nedanoff, of the village of *Labunishta*, caza of Monastir, asked him for information about the most influential persons of the village. Then the bandits bound him to a tree and one after another thrust their daggers into his breast. Some minutes after, the bandits having encountered the Bulgarian Tzvetco Uginoff, extracted from him a ransom of £150.

In the beginning of November, too, the most prominent notable of the village of *Rabetino*, Maxime Kostoff, was killed by a Servian band with refinements of cruelty.

In the month of November 1905 a Servian band commanded by Kosta Kovatchevitch, attacked the village of *Svilantzi*; the bandits set fire to the houses of Caramfil Athanassof, Stefko Mladenoff, Dimitri Traikoff, and Yakim Gheorghieff. The band, after this exploit, went off, taking with it nine Bulgarians; it carried off also a hundred sheep

belonging to Peter Spassoff, and fifty sheep belonging to Dimitri Ghioreff. This outrage was an act of vengeance, the village of Svilantzi—which had been forced to declare itself Servian—having returned to the Exarchate. The same Servian band, when passing through the village of *Stepantzi*, set fire to several Bulgarian houses, among them that of Stanko Trakoff.

The Servian band, reinforced by Servians of the *caza* of Kumanovo, to the number of a hundred and thirty, entered on the 15th December the village of *Orak*, and for a considerable time kept up a rifle-fire on all the houses of the lower quarters. The Bulgarian notable Nako Kirsteff was specially aimed at; therefore, when the band saw itself master of the field, it set fire to ten of his buildings; two houses were burnt to cinders, as well as barns, stables, cellars, and stores. The house of the Bulgarian Spasso Dodeff and the house and barn of Gheorghi Ivanoff were also burnt to ashes. The band departed taking with it two hundred sheep belonging to the Bulgarian Apostol Ivanoff and a hostage.

The soldiers who came to the village—after the departure of the band, of course—stole the few articles which Nako Kirsteff had succeeded in saving from the flames.

The same band, helped by the same Servians—among whom were recognised the two priests of the village of *Strezovtzi*, and a priest of the Servian convent of *Beliakovo*—had taken part, on the 11th November, in the pillage of the village of *Oblavtzi*, *caza* of Kumanovo, and in the carrying off of three Bulgarians, who are said to have been buried alive not far from the village of *Ossitché*.

On the 20th December, 1905, a Servian band, commanded by Christo Dovezensky and Gheorghi Scopiancheto, again attacked *Mlado-Nagoritchino*, *caza* of Kumanovo, to force it to declare itself Servian.

For the same reason, on the 22nd December, another Servian hand burst into the village of *Beliakovtzi*, and set fire to four Bulgarian houses, burning them to cinders.



Some days later, on the 29th December, the Servian band of Christo Scopiantcheto invaded the village of *Skatchkovtzi*, of the same *caza*, and fired shots at the houses. But the inhabitants of the village were expecting this attack, and, seconded by the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages, *Murgatch* and *Bilianovtzi*, succeeded in repelling the band, which left three killed on the pavement. The authorities, informed of what had happened, did not try to pursue the band. On the contrary, they arrested some twenty Bulgarians and imprisoned them at Kumanovo. *Skatchkovtzi*, a Bulgarian village, had declared itself Servian under the menace of the bands, and afterwards had returned to the Exarchate. The attack of the 29th December was to punish it. This was attained through the arrests that followed. It should be added that the military authorities were aware of the presence of the band, and that they had been informed of the threats addressed to the village of *Skatchkovtzi*; but, as usual, they allowed the attack to take place without taking any steps to prevent it.

On the 5th February, 1906, during the night, a strong Servian band, commanded by the Servian Captain Makovtché, burst into the village of *Sarandinovo*, *caza* of Perlepé, where a marriage was being celebrated. In the house of the newly-wedded couple were eight Bulgarians of the village of *Krivogashtani*, whom the band captured as well as two other guests. Then the chief of the band notified the villagers that unless they declared themselves Servians in the briefest space of time, the two villages would be sacked, and the captives killed. The ten unfortunate prisoners were beheaded, after being horribly tortured.

The inhabitants of the Bulgarian village of *Topovliani*, *caza* of Kitchevo, had complained on several occasions of the doings of a Servian band which continually threatened them with reprisals unless they declared themselves Servians and Patriarchists. The authorities, instead of taking measures against the band, preferred to punish the villagers for their urgency in demanding succour. A detachment of forty

soldiers was charged to search the village. On the 11th February all the houses were visited, without result, except for the soldiers, who amassed a large booty. This fact encouraged the band, who, feeling themselves safe from all danger, operated thenceforth in all security. They assassinated, within fifteen days, the Bulgarians Christé Christeff and Stotko Ivanoff, as well the women Thodora Bojinovo, Feodonia Iordanova (the latter pregnant), and Kostadintza Nicolova.

On the 18th March the two Bulgarian priests Athanas Sofronieff, of Krushovo, and Christé Kotchoff, of the village of Kirvogashtani, were assassinated, near the town of *Krushovo*, by a Servian band.

On the 29th May, another Servian band, numbering thirty persons, attacked the village of *Batzevo*, caza of Palanka, and carried off twelve peasants. These were taken outside the village. The chief of the band then decided to keep three of them, and send the others with a message to the notables of the village that they should address a petition to the vali, declaring that they had all recognised the Greek Patriarchate.

On the 10th August, 1906, a Servian band, after firing several volleys at the mill of Elias Stefanoff and of Spasso Christoff, of *Mlado-Nagoritchino*, burst in the doors and entered. The millers only saved themselves from certain death by jumping into the water under their house.

About the middle of the month of August a strong Servian band again attacked *Beliakovtzi*, caza of Kumanovo. The band, after having maltreated several Bulgarians and fired shots which wounded several people who were fleeing, plundered right and left; all the sheep of Gheorghii Gurkoff were carried off. The unfortunate man went to complain to the commander of the troops stationed at Duvesentzi; the latter, instead of listening to his complaint, caused him to be cruelly beaten by his soldiers, and drove him away.

Spiro Gheorghieff, of the above village of *Beliakovtzi*, was assassinated the same month of August by a Servian band.

His mother Anghelina, going to look for him, was encountered by men of the band which had killed Spiro, and was in her turn killed with poignards.

Arso Shokleff and Spas Peshoff, notables of the village of *Radibushe*, каза of Palanka, were encountered by a Servian band, on the 18th August, near the village of *Stratzin*. One of them, Spas, having tried to flee, was severely wounded, and left for dead. The other was taken away by the band, and has not since been heard of. This took place quite near a military post where were fifteen soldiers. The latter heard the sound of firing, but waited till the band had gone before going to the scene of the exploit.

Seraphin Petroff, the most prominent Bulgarian notable of the town of *Tetovo*, was killed on the 5th September by a Servian butcher in the hire of the Servian committee.

The assassination was committed in broad daylight in the principal street of Tetovo, without the police interfering.

## F.—THE RETURNS FOR TWENTY MONTHS

A pamphlet which appeared in the beginning of 1906 enumerates—with precise details of dates, places, and persons—1,010 murders of peaceable Bulgarians. These crimes were all committed during the first eleven months of 1905.

They fall into the following classes, according to their authors :

330	are due to Turkish or Albanian bands or individuals.
195	„ „ the soldiers.
451	„ „ „ Greek bands or agents.
34	„ „ „ Servian „ „

As regards 1906, the English Minister for Foreign Affairs, Sir Edward Grey, declared on the 6th November in the House of Commons that, according to information supplied by the consuls, there have been from the 1st January to the 30th September :

577	Christians killed in the vilayet of Salonica.
431	„ „ „ „ „ Monastir.
183	„ „ „ „ „ Kossovo.

So that, in nine months of 1906, there have been 1,191 political murders, and from the 1st January, 1905, to the 30th September, 1906, 2,201, to which must be added the murders committed in December 1905, whose number is needed to complete the total of murders for this period of twenty-one months.

These grim figures give better than anything else a clear idea of the inefficacy of the reforms.

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